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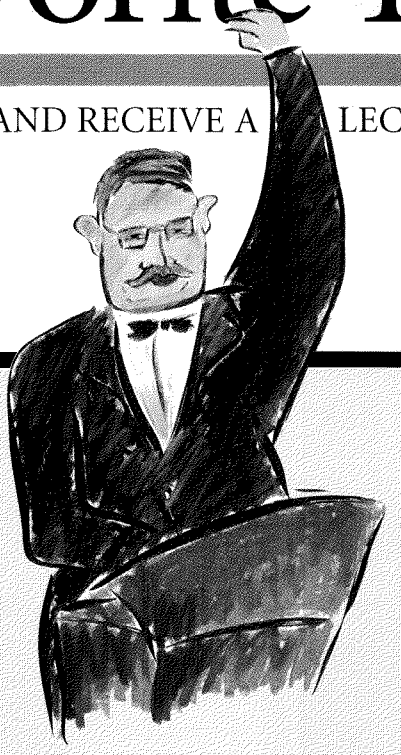

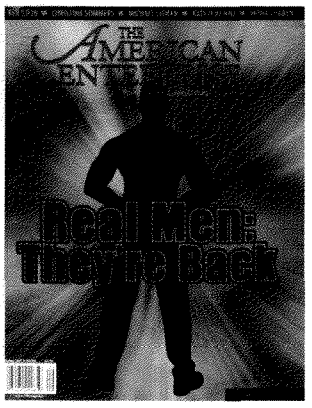

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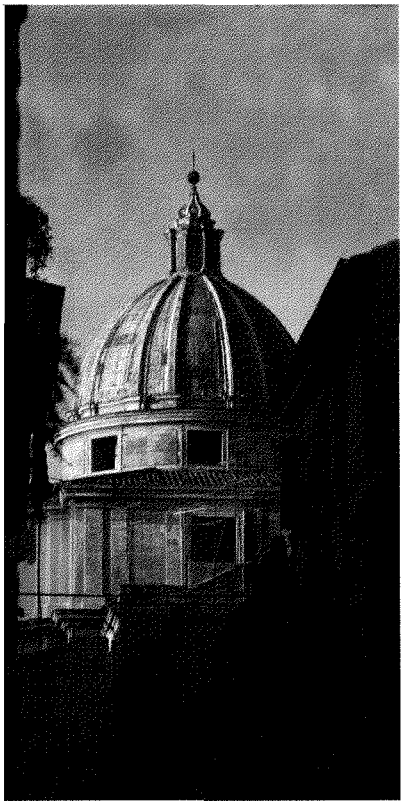

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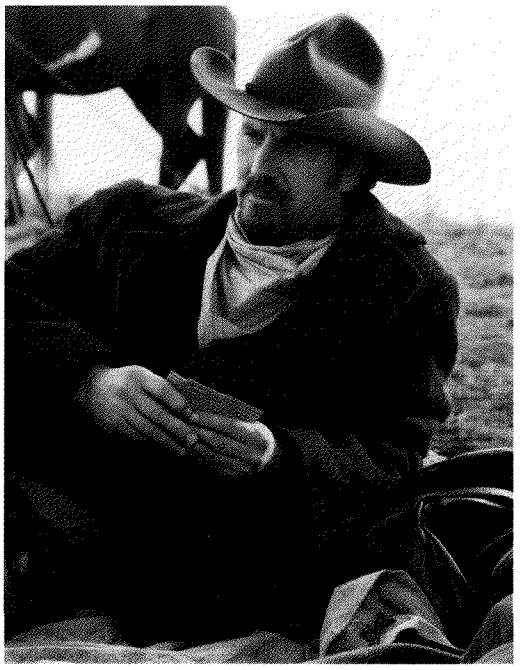

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THE AMERICAN ENTERPRISE
POLITICS, BUSINESS, AND CULTURE

October/November 2003 Vol. 14, No. 7

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(Available for U.S. and Canada delivery only.)

Postmaster: Send all subscription correspondence and address changes to The American Enterprise, P.O. Box 6074, Duluth, MN 55806-6074. ISSN 1047-3572. Published eight times per year (J/F, M, A/M, J, J/A, S, O/N, D) by the American Enterprise Institute, 1150 17th Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Periodicals postage paid at Washington, D.C. and additional mailing offices. Copyright © 2003, the American Enterprise Institute. All rights reserved.

Bird's Eye

Good Faith

By Karl Zinsmeister

The whole idea of religion as a behavior modification device rubs me the wrong way. Faith is not a coat you throw on to make yourself look and act better. Promoting belief because it might lower the crime rate or have some similar utilitarian benefit is an egregious misunderstanding of religion's actual importance, and an offense to real believers.

As the verses of an old spiritual put it:

Religion's like a blooming rose,
None can tell but them that knows.

If you feel the true presence of God in your life, everything else is colored by that. And if you find yourself separated from God, there is no faking a relationship.

Religious people worship not because they choose to but because they feel they *have* to—inklings of joy, awe, and gratitude well up in them in very personal ways. They feel drawn to God as by a gravitational pull (sometimes subtle, sometimes strong). And, yes, familiarity with God gives most people a more orderly, happy, and productive daily life. But far more significant are the deeper gifts God gives them: confidence about their place in the universe, an ability to weather misery and sinfulness and turn them into good, a much more delicate and soulful appreciation of existence than living on a simple physical plane allows.

For many God-fearing people, worship is the time when they feel most elevated, most removed from other creatures that lack spiritual discernment. Chimpanzees use tools. Dolphins play and gambol with each other. Every animal indulges in carnal life and communicates with fellow members of the species. Even the crudest organisms can breed and reproduce themselves. But only man is able to discern and embrace the universe's higher order. Only man worships and gives thanks to his Creator. Only man practices altruism, exercises compassion, offers praise, and suppresses his own selfish interests to honor the God who exists beyond our immediate surface life.

The companionship of God offers much in return: chances to learn and practice moral action. Experiences that elevate one's thinking. The power and peace that come from a Father's constant presence. An abstract yet powerfully immediate fraternity with millions of other humans from different places and times. Opportunities to be holy. These are the truest rewards of faith.

Yet Christians and Jews are also enjoined to be distinctive in the routines of their day-to-day lives. In his letter to the Ephesians, Paul tells the first members of the church to live as "children of light" and pursue "goodness, righteousness, and truth." A whole series of very specific injunctions follow: "He who has been stealing must steal no longer, but must work, doing something useful with his own hands, that he may have something to share with those in need." Christians are told not to be angry or slanderous, to be kind, to avoid sexual

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immorality, drunkenness, and greed. "Be very careful, then, how you live," instructs St. Paul—because the everyday actions of Christians are their advertisement to the rest of the world.

There is evidence that religious belief can help individuals reach their very highest levels of potential.

Theoretically, then, in addition to their richer philosophical understandings Christians ought to be registering unusually wholesome earthly outcomes. Does that happen in practice? The verdict of this issue of *The American Enterprise* is that, yes indeed, things generally go better with God. Societies are more prosperous and individuals more thriving where faith blooms. For a start, consider some of the social science I was able to pull together quickly on practical results:

Substance Abuse

• Research on 1,750 urban and rural high school students found that even after controlling for factors like parental control and support, students with no religious affiliation were vastly more likely to be underage drinkers. Among the non-religious, 98 percent of girls and 92 percent of boys were teen drinkers, and 19 percent of girls and 36 percent of boys were *heavy* drinkers (defined as four or more alcoholic drinks on two or more occasions each week). Among Protestants attending church at least five times per year, the comparable figures were 55 percent and 72 percent, and just 5 percent (boys and girls both) for heavy drinking.

• A study of 2,048 ninth graders in Ontario found that religious behavior was the strongest single discouragement to marijuana, tobacco, and alcohol use.

• A major Harvard study of inner-city youth found that those with a "strong religious orientation" were 54 percent less likely to use drugs.

• A report from the Center for Addiction and Substance Abuse at Columbia University reported that religious practice is one of the best predictors of whether a child will stay free of drugs.

• Not only does religion keep people away from drugs, it often brings back to sobriety those who stumble. Carl Jung, the pioneering psychiatrist, failed to cure any chronic alcoholics despite years of therapy and eventually concluded that the only escape for serious alcoholics is "a vital spiritual experience" resulting in "huge emotional displacement and rearrangement." Alcoholics have "a spiritual thirst for wholeness," he wrote, that cannot be satisfied by therapy, but only by a genuine religious commitment. Recent research has drawn similar conclusions on the importance of spiritual conversion as a path out of addiction.

Marriage and Family Life

Decades of academic work show that "in the strongest marriages and families, commitment to God burns bright" (as one research collator put it). A few examples:

• The very lowest risk of divorce today, numerous studies show, is among couples who attend religious services together. Only 7 percent of couples who attend church once a month or more will divorce within five years, according to the U.S. government's National Survey of Family Growth. The rate is 2 1/2 times higher for couples who attend church just once a year or less.

• Across the U.S., the prevalence of divorce is 17 percent among weekly churchgoers, versus 37 percent among couples who claim "no religion."

• Men professing no religion commit adultery more often, and report having far more sex partners.

• Sexual satisfaction is higher among religious couples than others. A University of Kentucky study even found that religiously conservative couples tend to share household chores more fairly.

Pollster George Gallup summarizes that religious people show up in survey research as "a breed apart." In particular, "they tend to place greater importance on family life than do less spiritually committed persons."

Altruism

Another distinguishing characteristic of religious people, Gallup reports, is that they are "far more involved in charitable activities." His surveys show that 46 percent of the religiously active are involved in voluntary work with poor, elderly, or sick persons, versus just 22 percent of the non-religious. Gallup also finds that "highly spiritually committed" persons "tend to be more tolerant of persons of different races and religions," and that "they do not turn inward; rather, they are vitally concerned about the betterment of society."

• Statistics from the charitable clearinghouse Independent Sector show that among people who attend church weekly, 71 percent are volunteers of some sort, to the tune of 3.4 hours per week on average, and that they donate 3.8 percent of their income to others. The comparable figures for people who never attend church: 40 percent volunteer, giving an average of 1.6 hours per week, and 0.8 percent of their income goes to charity.

• A major study done for the Girl Scouts of America found that religious youngsters are much likelier than the non-religious to avoid anti-social acts and to engage in altruistic activities. Rich kids who are religious and poor kids who are religious "have far more in common with each other" than religious and non-religious kids in the same socioeconomic group do, according to the study authors.

Sexual Behavior

• A large multiple-regression analysis by Tom Smith of the University of Chicago's National Opinion Research Center

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found that the most important influence by far on levels of sexual permissiveness among Americans is religiosity. Weekly church attendance sharply reduced incidences of premarital sex, extramarital adultery, and homosexuality, after controlling for other socioeconomic factors.

People who attend church weekly volunteer twice as much, and give almost five times as large a share of their income to altruistic causes.

• Researchers at the Urban Institute and elsewhere have found that the single best indicator of delayed sexual activity and avoidance of pregnancy among inner-city teens is membership in a conservative Protestant church.

• Various studies show that religious teens are two to seven *times* as likely to avoid sexual intercourse as non-religious teens.

• Marriage rates of young men are higher, and unwed fatherhood is lower, among religious youth.

Crime and Delinquency

• Dozens of academic studies show that even after adjustments are made for family influence, neighborhood, race, income, and other factors, religious commitment (particularly church attendance) clearly discourages delinquency among youth.

• The National Survey of Families and Households tallied adolescent behavior problems like getting into trouble with the police, being suspended from school, running away from home, or developing emotional problems that require seeing a doctor. And researchers found that in every single family type—two-parent, one-parent, married, unmarried, step families, extended families, adopted families, etc.—parental church involvement is associated with significantly fewer behavior problems.

• A sampling of 46,000 sixth- through twelfth-graders showed that those who attend religious services at least once a month are only half as likely to engage in vandalism, substance abuse, drunk driving, and other problem behaviors.

• Extensive research by Harvard economist Richard Freeman and associates found that, all other factors being equal, inner-city residents who go to church are 59 percent less likely to commit crimes. (Teens are also far less likely to drop out of school, and adults more likely to hold a job, if they are worshippers.)

• Church attendance is a more accurate predictor of criminal behavior than whether an individual lived in public housing, grew up in a single-parent household, or had parents who received welfare.

• Churchgoing is the factor that most affects who escapes urban poverty, and is associated with "substantial differences in the behavior of youth.... [It] affects allocation of time, school attendance, work activity, and the frequency of socially deviant activity," according to a book-length study by the National Bureau of Economic Research.

• Investigations show that the religious are less likely to cheat on their taxes.

• A survey of 24,000 magazine readers found that many admitted to serious lapses in ethical behavior—more than four out of ten had driven while intoxicated; 38 percent had cheated on their taxes; a third had deceived their best friend about something important within the previous year. Investigators found two clear patterns in these results: Younger respondents were most likely to engage in illegal or unethical behavior. And the more religious people were, the less likely they were to commit these morally questionable acts.

• Inmates in prisons who make a religious commitment are less likely to return to jail after their release.

• Historical studies by Christie Davies, James Q. Wilson, and others note that society-wide crime decreases often correlate with religious renewals, and that crime increases often take place when religion is falling from favor.

Health

• Regular church attenders live longer. Religious belief markedly reduces the incidence of heart attack, arteriosclerosis, high blood pressure, and other cardiovascular maladies in particular, as documented in research extending back to a 1972 publication by investigators from the Johns Hopkins University School of Public Health.

• A study of Canadian college students found that those involved with Christian campus groups were significantly healthier, made less use of health care services, and scored significantly higher on measures of psychological balance, ability to handle stress, and avoidance of depression—despite being similar to fellow students in other ways.

• Elderly patients who are religious are likelier to make successful recoveries from surgery, according to a Dartmouth Medical School study.

Happiness

• George Gallup reports that religious people show up in public opinion research as much happier with their lot in life than the non-religious. "A total of 68 percent of the highly spiritually committed say they are 'very happy,' compared to 30 percent of the highly uncommitted."

• Overall satisfaction and marital contentment are higher, and depression rates are lower, among the religiously active.

• People who pray report a greater sense of well-being than people who do not pray, according to researchers from the University of Akron.

• Religious belief and practice can be important tools in rehabilitating refugees who have experienced torture, rape, starvation, and other inhumanity, according to San Francisco psychiatrists who worked with Cambodians who'd arrived in America with

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mental and physical debilities from traumatic experiences.

• Individuals who don't attend church are four times likelier to commit suicide than those who attend regularly. Locales that have low rates of church membership are consistently higher in suicide rates. Indeed, rates of church attendance predict suicide rates more effectively than any other factor, including unemployment.

Church attendance is a more accurate predictor of criminal behavior than whether an individual lived in public housing, grew up in a single-parent household, or had parents who received welfare.

In addition to religion's prophylactic effects in fending off destructive influences, there is evidence that religious belief can help individuals reach their very highest levels of potential. Our lead feature story by Charles Murray grows out of his large, multi-year project researching the roots of high achievement. Murray is not a religious fellow, but he is an astute and honest investigator, and discovered that religious conviction turns out to be one of the crucial factors behind extraordinary human accomplishments across the ages.

Our second feature, also built on years of dogged academic investigation, is a fascinating tale on the rise of science. There is nothing "inevitable" about the growth of science. For most of human existence there was no methodical way of investigating and understanding the physical universe. The scientific outlook and scientific method were invented only one time, and in only one place. And professor Rodney Stark, like Charles Murray, was somewhat surprised to discover that the key to the blossoming of the scientific revolution was the rise of Christianity.

Forget the idea that science and religion are incompatible, Stark urges in his subversively fresh story. Open your mind to the reality that Judaism and Christianity in particular have unlocked human capabilities in a way that other religions can't match. Many historians have been puzzled that the Chinese, who enjoyed a technically advanced civilization for centuries, never developed science. Stark explains in his new book that this is a result of Chinese philosophy and religion, which lacked comprehension of a God who imposed rational laws on the universe, then created rational beings in his image, capable of comprehending those laws. Likewise, the ancient Greeks, for all their brilliance, had a petty and human-like conception of the Deity which made it impossible for them to imagine a conscious law-bound creation that could be decoded through careful observation.

Many of the greatest Western scientists—for example Alfred North Whitehead in his 1925 Lowell Lectures at Harvard—acknowledged that Christian theology was essential for the rise of science, and that non-Christian religious views stifled the scientific quest elsewhere. But this reality has been muffled and suppressed in recent generations. Professor Stark has now made a bold rediscovery.

The final article in our series on the effects of religion is also a kind of rediscovery. In the course of writing a book on the growth of cities, Joel Kotkin found that religion was not only the original reason for the rise of cities, but also a critical factor in keeping cities healthy and thriving after their founding. And he concluded that religion's importance to urban well-being continues right up to the current day, though few modern academics acknowledge it. "The good influence of godly citizens causes a city to prosper," as the Book of Proverbs puts it.

It's worth recalling Adam Smith's observation, early in the industrial revolution, that:

> A man of low condition…as soon as he comes into a great city…is sunk in obscurity and darkness. His conduct is observed and attended to by nobody, and he is therefore likely to neglect it himself, and to abandon himself to every sort of low profligacy and vice.

But, Smith wrote, there is a proven antidote to the anti-social depravity encouraged by a city's anonymity. And that is "becoming the member of a small religious sect…. In little religious sects the morals of the common people have been almost always remarkably regular and orderly."

Sagacious political observers have argued that religion is important not only to keeping cities humane but to keeping self-governing democracy itself in balance. Alexis de Tocqueville warned that "despotism may govern without faith, but liberty cannot. Religion…is more needed in democratic republics than in any other. How is it possible that society should escape destruction if the moral tie is not strengthened in proportion as the political tie is relaxed?"

This was a deep concern of our nation's founders. "We have staked the whole of our political institutions on the capacity of mankind to govern themselves according to the Ten Commandments of God," stated James Madison. "Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports," wrote George Washington. John Adams acknowledged that "Our Constitution was designed only for a moral and religious people. It is wholly inadequate for the governance of any other."

As they thought this matter through, Madison, Washington, and Adams had before them the warnings of contemporary Scottish historian Sir A. F. Tytler.

> A democracy….can only exist until the voters discover they can vote themselves largesse from the public trea-

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sury. From that moment on, the majority always votes for the candidate promising the most benefits…with the result that a democracy always collapses over loose fiscal policy, always followed by a dictatorship.

The average age of the world's great civilizations has been 200 years. These nations have progressed through this sequence:

From bondage to spiritual faith;
from spiritual faith to great courage;
from courage to liberty, to abundance, to selfishness;
from selfishness to complacency, to apathy, to dependency;
from dependency back to bondage.

"We have staked the whole of our political institutions on the capacity of mankind to govern themselves according to the Ten Commandments of God," stated James Madison.

The influence of religion on social life is felt not only through individuals but also through organizations. Make a list of today's programs and institutions most effective at solving social problems and you will find a common thread linking many of them: They are faith-filled and God-centered.

Habitat for Humanity. Inner-city Catholic schools. The Salvation Army. Alcoholics Anonymous. True Love Waits. Prison Fellowship. Marriage Encounter. These are all built on religious wisdom, and they do absolutely critical work in keeping our civil society healthy. They represent our very strongest tools against the afflictions of modernity that threaten our nation most: drug abuse, homelessness, family decay, sexual decadence, narcissism, the welfare trap, the loss of moral compass.

Religious groups function as spiritual antibodies against cultural decline. That is not just a conservative nostrum, but a reality recognized by most honest observers. Here is how liberal social analyst Glenn Loury puts it:

> One cannot imagine effectively teaching sexual abstinence, or the eschewal of violence, without an appeal to spiritual concepts. The most effective substance-abuse recovery programs are built around spiritual principles. The reports of successful efforts at reconstruction in ghetto communities invariably reveal a religious institution, or a set of devout believers, at the center of the effort.

I'll close by returning to the cautionary with which I opened this essay: Religious conviction is not just a social engineer's lever. Faith is something much deeper, more profound, and important than that, and it cannot be turned on and off to create convenient societal effects. Margaret Thatcher was exactly right when she warned in an interview a few years ago that "people who expect to benefit from the fruits of religious beliefs without the underlying belief itself will eventually be disappointed. You might just as well cut off a really rather beautiful flower from its roots and expect it to continue to flower. It won't—it will die." Sincere belief, and the various disciplines that that entails, are the only route to religious rewards. There is no shortcut. There is no "light" version that provides the same benefits at a lower price tag.

That said, the evidence assembled in this issue of *TAE* ought to be enormously heartening to most Americans. For right out there in our houses of worship, waiting to be applied, are powerful, time-tested systems capable of injecting meaning, success, and satisfaction into both our personal and social lives. In the face of the common impression that modern life grows colder, more atomized, and less salutary every year, this is an encouraging discovery.

And it's not just pie in the sky. We see signs in many important American sectors of a return to religious wisdom. Joel Kotkin describes hints of renewal even in our least hospitable urban communities. Rodney Stark reports that among certain critical groups, belief was never eclipsed in the first place in the way some reporters and academics would have us believe. We know for certain that in the massive middle of American society religious faith never lost its appeal or went much out of fashion. This is a bedrock upon which many good results can be built in the future.

In our last issue, Naomi Schaefer listed recent books that chronicle young Christians who bring their faith into professions like medicine and entertainment, and that outline ways in which religious perspectives are returning to fields such as journalism and social science. There is only one thing slowing this revival of religious insight. That is the resistance of entrenched, anti-religious elites.

A survey of a few years ago showed that 37 percent of white Americans with graduate degrees are "intensely antagonistic" toward Christians. Even more common than the open hostility of secular elites toward religion is their blind neglect. In the mid 1980s, a psychiatrist who had noticed many positive effects on mental and physical health from religious belief conducted a study of all the research articles published over a five-year period in the four major psychiatric journals. Only 3 percent considered religious factors in any way as an influence on the human condition, and only three studies, in total, focused tightly on religion.

There is no justification for ignoring faith in this way, much less for shunning it as a social force. God is a fundamental part of the lives of most Americans. Indeed the judgment of this issue of *TAE* is that there may be no influence more important to the peace, prosperity, imaginative success, and happiness of our future generations.

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Sidelights

By Brandon Bosworth

One third of Germans under age 30 believe the U.S. government may have sponsored the 9/11 terror attacks, according to a study by the German weekly *Die Zeit*. ❧ Libyan dictator **Muammar Qaddafi**'s son, **Saif al-eslam Qaddafi**, told CNN he "would like to send this message to the American people and the American government that we, the Libyan people, we want to have a more constructive and fruitful relationship with the Americans.... We don't want confrontation and aggression and, you know, to fight anymore. It's over. It's behind us now. It's dead with the Cold War." ⋯ **Hossein Khomeini**, a grandson of the late **Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini**, was quoted in the *Scotsman* observing that the Iranian people "really need freedom and freedom must come about. Freedom is more important than bread. But if there's no way for freedom in Iran other than American intervention, I think the people would accept that. I would accept it, too, because it's in accord with my faith." ❧ Danish troops serving in Iraq were accidentally sent a supply shipment which included a snowplow, lawnmowers, and salt for icy roads. Military spokesman Major **Jan Brinck** acknowledged "some mistakes made in the shipment of materiel." ❧ Columbia professor **Edward Said** claims that even though **Saddam Hussein** was a "vicious tyrant...he had provided the people of Iraq with the best infrastructure of services like water, electricity, health, and education of any Arab country. None of this is any longer in place." ❧ According to a study commissioned by pharmaceutical giant Pfizer, the Spanish have the longest life expectancy in Europe. Spaniards live an average of 82 years. The European average is 78. ❧ **Fidel Castro**'s exiled daughter, **Alina Fernandez**, urged the European Union to take a firmer stance against the communist dictator. She believes the E.U.'s current policy is "hardly acceptable because they're dealing with a regime that doesn't listen." ⋯ Earlier this year the European Union opened a new office in Cuba in an effort to improve relations between Cuba and the E.U. ❧ French first lady **Bernadette Chirac** wants **Hillary Clinton** to seek higher office: "There are a lot of women who hope one day she'll run for the Presidency of the United States and that she'll win."

Hoping to spur the slow economy, the German government approved a € 22 billion ($26 billion) cut in income taxes. According to German chancellor **Gerhard Schroeder**, "10 percent less tax means 10 percent more consumption." ⋯ French president **Jacques Chirac** plans to cut France's income taxes by 30 percent. ❧ On the Fourth of July, the Parisian tourist office was draped with the Stars and Stripes. Paris hotels, restaurants, and shops offered Americans free bottles of champagne, boxes of chocolates, and flowers. ⋯ French tourism has launched a new campaign to woo American tourists with the theme "Let's Fall In Love Again." ❧ Washington, D.C. has the nation's fourth-largest number of substantially gay neighborhoods, according to a study by the pro-homosexual Human Rights Campaign Foundation. ❧ Greenwood Acres Full Gospel Baptist Church of Shreveport, Louisiana will pay white people to attend services in an effort to increase the diversity of its congregation. "God told me to pay white folks," said Bishop **Fred Caldwell**. "He told me to say it just like that—pay white folks $5 to come to church." ❧ Calling for a reference to Christianity in the E.U. constitution, Pope **John Paul II** observed that "the Christian roots are for Europe the principal guarantee of its future." ❧ Over 80 percent of cell phone users claim they rarely or never irritate other people with their ringers or cell phone conversations. ⋯ A Malaysian cleric declared that Muslim men may divorce their wives via text messages on cell phones. ❧ Less than one out of every ten U.S. children walks to school. ❧ Sixty-three percent of New York high school students flunked the state math exam required for graduation. They were graduated anyway. ⋯ Seventy-five percent of American high school students graduate without ever having had to write a term paper, according to a College Board study.

❧

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Scan

"What do you mean you didn't get anything out of college? You learned to tackle, didn't you?"

CAN CAIN CONQUER?

At a New York fundraiser for then Presidential candidate Steve Forbes a few years ago, the speech that grabbed everyone by the lapels was a rousing, fiery sermon by a Georgia businessman named Herman Cain. "He clearly upstaged Forbes himself," recalls Stephen Moore of the Club for Growth. "I joked to Herman that you're not supposed to overshadow the keynote speaker!"

But with his personal passion, his inspiring life story, and his powerful oratory, it's hard for Cain not to upstage those around him. Now he's trying to upstage two sitting members of Congress in a contest for the U.S. Senate. He is a Republican candidate in the race to succeed Georgia's outgoing Democrat, Senator Zell Miller, a campaign the GOP is favored to win by virtue of the party's rising popularity in the state.

Cain is a self-made millionaire in the chain-restaurant business, and former head of the National Restaurant Association. Politically, he's a leader of the movement to replace the federal income tax with a consumption tax, and he argues urgently against raising the minimum wage. [See *TAE's* July/August 1996 issue.] He's also black.

The grandson of sharecroppers, Cain was unable to attend a segregated University of Georgia, graduating instead from Morehouse College in 1967. He later obtained a master's degree at Purdue, before working his way through corporate jobs at Pillsbury and its Burger King division. He next saved the company's slumping Godfather's Pizza chain. Then he bought it for $40 million.

Cain's experience has made him the ultimate believer in—and spokesman for—the power of the individual in a free market. Moore describes him as "really committed to making America a place where the poor are rich, not the rich poor. He doesn't believe in wealth redistribution, but wealth creation."

When Cain preaches the message of limited government "he's very entertaining and powerful, and really gets the audience on its feet," says Moore. "He speaks at the podium like a Baptist preacher"—which is only fitting, seeing that he's an associate pastor at Atlanta's Antioch Baptist Church North. In August, the devout Cain preached to an audience of 20 million Americans as the guest host of Robert Schuller's nationally televised "Hour of Power" series.

Married for 34 years with two children, and an articulate success as both a cultural traditionalist and an economic entrepreneur, Cain is a GOP dream candidate. Jack Kemp lauds his "incredible education, patriotism, and integrity," and serves with Steve Forbes as honorary chairman of his campaign. But Cain's two main opponents in the Republican primary, Representatives Johnny Isakson and Mac Collins, are experienced local politicians with deep grassroots support. "The experts say everything about my candidacy is an uphill battle," Cain told supporters at a July rally. "My response, quite simply, is: My whole life has been an uphill battle."

If he can climb this mountain, Cain could become an important national political force. Among his many gifts is his ability to broaden the appeal of traditional conservative policies. Take Social Security, which Cain would like to replace with personal investment funds. Under the existing system, he points out, "blacks are subsidizing benefits for whites because blacks will not live long enough to receive any benefits"—a message Democrats don't want black Americans to hear.

But with candor like that, Cain could soon start upstaging Democrats, too.

—**Chris Weinkopf** *is editorial page editor at the* Los Angeles Daily News.

THE "CRITICAL MASS" MESS

The Supreme Court's momentous split decision on the Michigan affirmative action case *Grutter v. Bollinger* read into our Constitution a new and potentially powerful justification for race-based quotas. Someday we may realize that Justice O'Connor's decision brief opened

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a door better left shut.

While supposedly striking down strict formulas for achieving affirmative action, the *Grutter* decision serves to make numerical targets for race-based enrollment newly defensible. In adopting the doctrine that diversity requires schools to attract a "critical mass" of minority students, the decision took a concept that had enjoyed little legal standing and stamped it with a Constitutional imprimatur. Schools, colleges, and universities can now argue that efforts to attract "enough" minority students do not reflect a race-based agenda but an adherence to the Court's ratification of the concept of "meaningful numbers."

O'Connor's decision argued that a "sufficient number" of underrepresented minorities are needed on campuses so that minority students don't feel isolated, and so that other students will have ample cross-racial experiences. Thus Michigan is empowered to seek "enough minority students to provide meaningful integration of its classrooms and residence halls."

What does this mean in practice? Prior to *Grutter*, race-based enrollment goals were understood to constitute impermissible quotas. O'Connor and company have reopened the question. Now schools can readily argue that their racial discrimination is just an effort to attract a "critical mass" of minority students, rather than old-fashioned quotas. And there is nothing to stop K-12 schools from selecting students by race the same way universities now can.

Presumably in future suits, judges will be required to differentiate a "critical mass" from a quota. How will they gauge this? If a school or college weights race 15 or 20 times as heavily as other factors like geography or artistic ability, or even sets targets by racial group, this can now be called just a byproduct of assembling a minority population large enough to foster "real" diversity—rather than racial discrimination.

When the smoke clears, we may see that rather than bringing nearer the day when racialism will be a faint memory, the Court has ushered in a new era of quotas.

—**Frederick Hess** *is a resident scholar at the American Enterprise Institute.*

GOVERNMENT CENTRAL

The *Washington Times* recently reported that there are now 575 workers in District of Columbia local government agencies earning more than $100,000. In 1995, there was one. Today, one out of every 68 city workers in D.C. makes over $100,000.

APPARENTLY IT DEPENDS ON WHOM YOU SKEWER

Preaching at the Episcopal church's Washington National Cathedral on Sunday, August 17, the Reverend Stephen Sidorak had this to say about the United States:

"Our nation's policies cause us exceeding anxiety.... The policy of preemption is coupled with an oversimplified Manichean worldview, a newly militarized, alarmingly bellicose foreign policy, and the sanctimonious conviction of being on the side of the angels....

"No combination of ethically suspect policy and morally repugnant weaponry will ever provide the protection we covet....

"The anxiety that afflicts [us] probably can be attributed to the misplaced trust we put in the self-righteous, militaristic, kingdom-building tendencies of our own nation."

At least he didn't do anything really offensive like say a prayer at a football game.

POLLING TREMORS

Survey research carried out by Mark Penn, Bill Clinton's pollster, brought gloomy news last month for the Democrats. Just 22 percent of white men now call themselves Democrats, Penn reported. Democrats trail Republicans among all Americans who earn more than $20,000 per year. "The Democratic Party is currently in its weakest position since the dawn of the New Deal," he summarized.

This meshes with the recently released Annual National Hispanic Survey. According to poll director Raul Damas, it showed "that Latinos are more conservative in their policy beliefs than conventional wisdom would have us believe." Some findings:

- 53 percent favor cutting taxes to improve the economy
- 56 percent support school vouchers
- 86 percent believe affirmative action programs should also focus on income, not just race
- 49 percent have a favorable opinion of George Bush
- 42 percent of California Hispanics said they "will vote for" Arnold Schwarzenegger in the recall election.

"The number of Latinos identifying themselves as 'independent' keeps growing because Democrats are losing the strong loyalty they once enjoyed," reports Damas. Hispanics increasingly "emphasize ideas and specific policies over party identification," he states, and are more and more "a voter group that's up for grabs."

ENTITLED TO CLEAR LANGUAGE

It seems surreal that controversy raged this summer over the fact that the Child Tax Credit rebate was limited to those who actually pay income taxes—just as it is limited to those who actually have children.

One of the main casualties of the welfare state mentality is the English

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language. Proponents of utopian entitlements have had to invent a new language to support their agenda. Distinctions between tax cuts and welfare payments have evaporated. Payments are now "owed" to all people. Holding a program at the current funding level has become a "cut." Indeed, budget increases smaller than those desired by a particular constituency are also "cuts." It's part *Alice in Wonderland* and part "Twilight Zone."

The dictionary definition of "rebate" is simple: "a return of part of a payment." One gets a rebate on a fee only if one actually paid the fee. Ever notice that the manufacturer wants to see a copy of the receipt as a proof of purchase? If one attempts to get a rebate on a product one did not actually purchase, that constitutes fraud, and the perpetrator is subject to criminal penalties.

If the subject is income taxes, individuals who do not pay them in the first place will hardly qualify for rebates. Democrats arguing how unfair it is that tax credits go only to those who pay taxes seem to have hoped Americans would not notice. Sorry, I did.

The redistribution of wealth for political gain is an ancient practice. But neo-socialists now count it as the height of bad taste to bring things like contributions, work effort, character, and personal responsibility into discussions of the inequality of financial resources.

Simple honesty requires an admission that this battle over the child tax credit is not about an income tax rebate at all. It is about an opportunity to slip in another welfare program disguised as a tax credit. Just be up front about it and admit that another entitlement is what's really desired, and we'll see how it flies with the American public.

—**Andrew Zaplatynsky** *is a symphony concertmaster and political essayist.*

ASHCROFT DEFENDS PATRIOT ACT

Every day, terrorist cells around the world plot to come up with a successor to the September 11 murders. On the other side, American law enforcement is working to block them. One of their main tools is the USA Patriot Act, passed by Congress shortly after 9/11.

Despite the disruption of numerous terror cells with its help, there remains a group of civil libertarians who see the Patriot Act, and the Justice Department of John Ashcroft generally, as a conspiracy to rob them of their freedoms. In an August visit to the American Enterprise Institute the attorney general answered these critics. [For a free tape of his talk, see our ad on page 1.] The attack sites, he began, are not just memorials to the dead but "a warning" to the living, "a reminder that the first responsibility of government is to…preserve the lives and liberty of the people."

Quoting from the Gettysburg Address, Ashcroft seconded Lincoln's belief that the way to honor the victims is not through words, but through action. "Our final tribute to the dead of September 11 must be to fulfill our responsibility to defend the living," he said. "Our greatest memorial to those who have passed must be to protect the lives and liberties of those yet to come."

Ashcroft described this effort as "the cause of our time. It has transformed the mission of the Justice Department." He stated: "We would have passed the Patriot Act six months before September 11 rather than six weeks after," if we knew then what we know now. The act "gives us the technological tools to anticipate, adapt, and out-think our terrorist enemy. To abandon these tools would senselessly imperil American lives and American liberty, and ignore the lessons of September 11."

FEMALE TERRITORY

No wonder the half of all U.S. students who are male are often having trouble in school these days. (See several articles in *TAE*'s September 2003 issue about the problems facing boys today, and also *TAE*'s cover story on this topic in June 2000.) A new survey by the National Education Association has found that fully eight out of ten teachers in America's classrooms are now women.

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ONE MORE BRICK

A group of students and citizens in Ithaca, New York recently replicated *TAE*'s influential studies tallying the political registration of faculty members at a variety of colleges (see *The American Enterprise*, September 2002). They completed a particularly thorough survey of 14 separate departments at Ithaca College, including anthropology, business, economics, English, history, politics, religion and philosophy, and TV-radio/journalism.

The results:

• Of 125 faculty members registered to vote, 117 (94 percent) were registered as either a Democrat or a member of the Green Party. Just eight instructors (6 percent of the faculty) were registered as Republicans or Conservatives.

• In many departments where a range of political views ought to be present, there was not a single Republican or Conservative. None in the department of politics. None in the history department.

• Even in the business department, Democrats outnumbered Republicans by 13 to 2.

• Department chairmen influence faculty hiring at universities. Not a single department chairman was a Republican or Conservative.

"This study confirms what we as students experience daily: a virtual monopoly of liberal faculty members," commented Ithaca College student Michelle Meredith. "How can students properly approach politics, psychology, sociology, English, or history from a critical perspective if every professor teaches from a similar point of view?"

"The hypocrisy is stunning," stated Mark Finkelstein, chairman of the local Republican committee. "Great lip service is paid to the overriding importance of diversity. But when it comes to the kind of diversity that really matters in an institution of higher learning—diversity of thought—the powers-that-be practice the most rigid discrimination."

IT'S A BIG, RICH COUNTRY

Economy.com recently ran some data comparing the economic production of U.S. metropolitan areas to that of foreign countries. A sample of the interesting results:

U.S. cities	GDP of	vs.	entire countries	
New York	$523 billion		$502 billion	India
Chicago	389		399	Australia
Los Angeles	374		358	Iran + Pakistan + Algeria + Kuwait + Syria + Tunisia + Libya + Lebanon + Yemen
Boston	286		282	Taiwan
Atlanta	210		206	Austria
Dallas	196		191	Saudi Arabia
Detroit	179		183	Turkey

THE LAST REFUGE OF SCOUNDRELS

Remember Cynthia McKinney? She's the Georgia Congresswoman who lost her bid for re-election in 2002 after suggesting that the Bush administration had ignored warnings of the 9/11 attacks because "persons close to this administration" were "poised to make huge profits" from America's subsequent war on terror. She also cozied up to Saudis who blamed U.S. foreign policy for the attacks. After the election, her father, a long-time Georgia state legislator, attributed her defeat to the influence of "J-E-W-S." And her supporters unsuccessfully sued to overturn the primary election she lost, on the grounds that Georgia's open primary system unfairly "diluted" their votes.

Well, McKinney will soon be back in public life, thanks to Cornell University, which has just given her a three-year appointment to a prestigious Frank Rhodes professorship (named for a recent president of the university). The chairman of the committee that selected her explained that McKinney "is a person of considerable achievement in the political sphere" and an "internationally renowned advocate for voting rights and human rights" who has "taken clear stands on a number of critical issues and been a strong voice in Congress."

Perhaps it is time for Cornell alumni to emulate McKinney's erstwhile constituents and express their opinion of this astonishing appointment to their alma mater.

—**David Schaefer**, *an embarrassed Cornell alumnus, is professor of political science at Holy Cross College.*

EPISCOPAL DEBATE

Q: How many Episcopalians does it take to change a light bulb?
A: The entire congregation—one to propose that the bulb be changed while the others debate until the room spins.

An August poll by the *Washington Post* found that the Episcopal church's recent decision to bless same-sex couples is opposed by 60 percent of all Americans. Among frequent churchgoers, 75 percent said they would object if their own church made such a decision. Only 37 percent of all Americans said they would support a law that allowed gay cou-

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ples to form civil unions. That is a 12-point drop since May 2003.

But that decision and the election of an openly gay bishop weren't the only significant judgments to emerge from the recent General Convention of the Episcopal church. There was also a declaration on the subject of stem cell research.

Many denominations have taken sides on the stem cell debate. The Roman Catholic church and the Lutheran church oppose embryonic stem cell research, due to their belief that life begins at conception. On the other side, the Presbyterian church and the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations support the use of human embryos in experiments, in the hope of curing severe illnesses. There are now a stunning 400,000 human embryos stored in the U.S. in a frozen state, a result of the proliferation of artificial conception services.

Now the Episcopalians have taken a position, urging Congress to fund research on unused embryos created during *in vitro* fertilization. Their provisos: The embryo should not be created for the purpose of research. It must be a leftover otherwise slated for destruction. The couple donating the embryo must give their consent. Embryos should not be purchased or sold. The resolution also encourages the continuation of adult stem cell research as an alternative to use of embryos.

—**Anne Beaumont** *is an editorial assistant with AEI Press.*

THE ECONOMIC COSTS OF SIN

We don't often think of religious and moral ideas as mattering to the profit and loss of businesses. But Marjorie Cooper, a professor of marketing at Baylor University, recently showed that morality has important cash value. Or perhaps I should say cash costs.

Cooper cites numerous studies of the costs of internal fraud, dishonesty, employee theft, etc. She finds that the yearly business costs of internal fraud are somewhere between the annual GDP of Bulgaria ($50 billion) and the GDP of Taiwan ($400 billion).

Then she cites research showing that many managers make the same mistakes over and over again. They evidently do not learn from errors, partly because they have been influenced by relativist thinking into believing there are no such things as truth, goodness, and right and wrong.

Cheating, stealing, lying to yourself and others, failing to be accountable, refusing to face consequences. These and other behaviors are sometimes explained away under "postmodern" morality. But they have real costs in the rough-and-tumble world of business.

You might say that Cooper shows sin is not cost-effective. Someday, when the postmodern rubble has been cleared away by clear thinking, our children will be astonished that anyone could ever have doubted it.

—**Jennifer Roback Morse** *is a fellow of the Hoover Institution, Stanford University.*

FAITH IN HIGH SCHOOL

A group of Catholic high schools with high standards but low budgets have found a way to help poor kids gain access to quality education. The Cristo Rey schools, of which there are currently five in the country (and four more scheduled to open next year), set up their students with part-time jobs. The kids work hard: They attend classes four days a week (with long days and a long school year), then work one day a week. The money they earn doesn't go to the kids for pocket spending; it benefits them by going directly to their schools. Those funds offset about 70 percent of the student's tuition, Tom Vander Ark, head of education at the Gates Foundation, tells *Philanthropy* magazine.

Cristo Rey students have been financing the majority of their education since 1996, following the model established by the Corporate Internship Program at Cristo Rey Jesuit High School of Chicago.

EVERYDAY RICHES

Most Americans do not think it evil to be wealthy, or to want to be wealthy. Indeed, a Gallup Poll recently discovered that 31 percent of our citizens fully expect to be "rich" themselves at some time during their lives. Among Americans under age 30 the total is 58 percent. Among those who define themselves as "liberals" and "conservatives," the same proportion expect to be rich.

—*Tait Trussell*

Now the Gates and Cassin Foundations have pledged almost $19 million to expand the Cristo Rey network throughout the U.S. These grants will establish a total of 16 schools.

"I went in a bit skeptical," admits Vander Ark, "wondering if the students would feel at all taken advantage of, since they don't receive a salary. But in all three of the schools we visited, every single student who was asked, 'What's your favorite part of school?' told us 'the work-study.' The students really value the opportunity to spend time in a work setting. They appreciate being treated as adults and given real responsibility. They also recognize they're gaining valuable work experience and learning a lot of things they wouldn't learn at school."

Vander Ark recalls that "in my home town of Denver there were three great Catholic high schools when I was young. Today there are zero. So we have to find ways to create economically sustainable faith-based models." In a time when religious involvement in public life is often pooh-poohed, or even derided by some as dangerous, the Cristo Rey schools serve as another reminder that faith and faith-based activity can create human successes where all other methods have failed.

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By Karl Zinsmeister and Eli Lehrer

Indicators

TAX DAMAGE

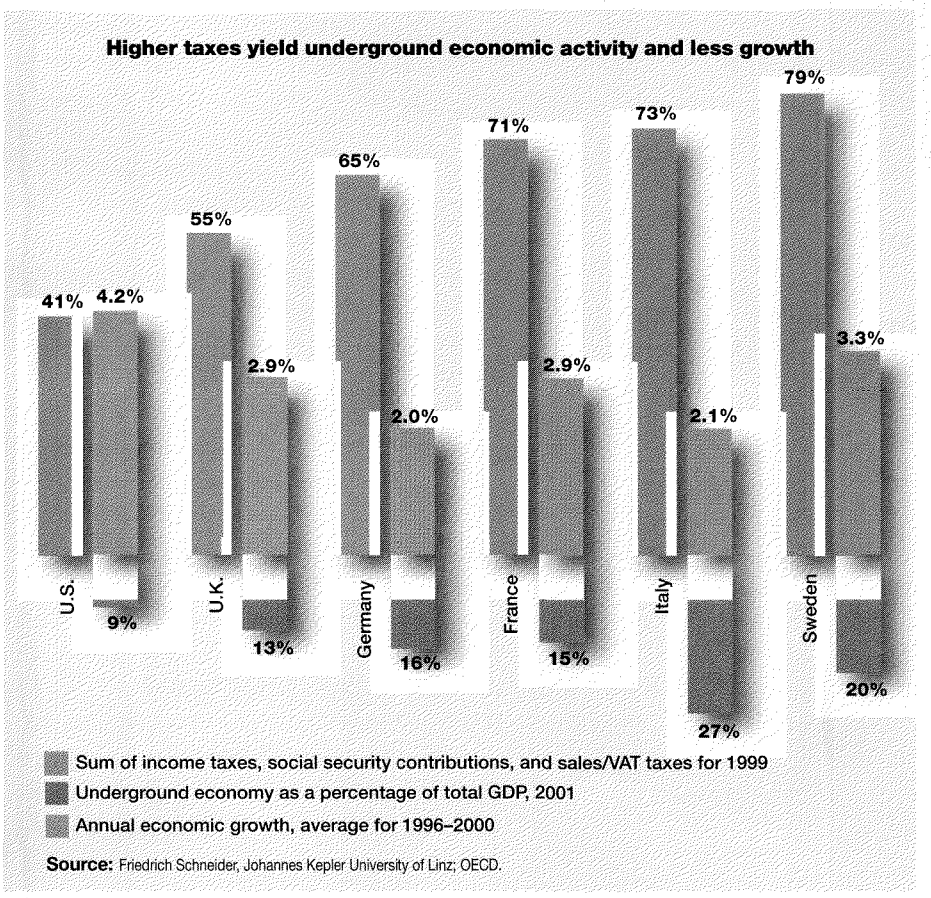
Taxing and regulation are lighter in the U.S. than in many other nations, from which we reap clear benefits.

In countries where taxes and regulatory burdens are odious, economic activity slips underground and into the shadows. Sales are not reported. Transactions are made in cash to avoid taxation. Employees are paid on the sly to avoid social security withholding.

Economist Friedrich Schneider of Austria's Johannes Kepler University, an international authority on underground economies, finds that they vary widely in size, depending on national policies and cultural practice. In corrupt Third World regimes like Zimbabwe, the *majority* of economic activity takes place off the books.

Among major developed nations, the U.S. enjoys both the lightest tax burden and the smallest underground economy —not to mention higher growth rates.

The relationship between tax burden, legality of economic activity, and national prosperity is quite striking, as the adjoining data indicate.



ARE TEACHERS UNDERPAID?

Every time a teacher's union contract comes up for negotiation, teachers complain that they are underpaid. Indeed, relative to other professionals with similar levels of education, teachers take home less money per year. But they also work significantly fewer hours: National statistics show they are rarely at their job site more than seven hours a day. Their take-home work is quite comparable to that of other professions. And they get much longer vacations than workers in any other common profession.

Economist Michael Podgursky, professor of economics at the University of Missouri, has calculated professional compensation on an hourly basis, and finds that teachers actually get paid more, on average, than workers in other occupations requiring similar—and even higher—levels of education.

In addition, the health, pension, and other fringe benefits accorded teachers compare favorably to those of other jobs.

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"Live" with TAE

He's a Hollywood celebrity. And he's smart. He's one of the country's favorite comedians. And he's a conservative. Wipe that smirk off your face and meet a patriotic entertainer.

Dennis Miller

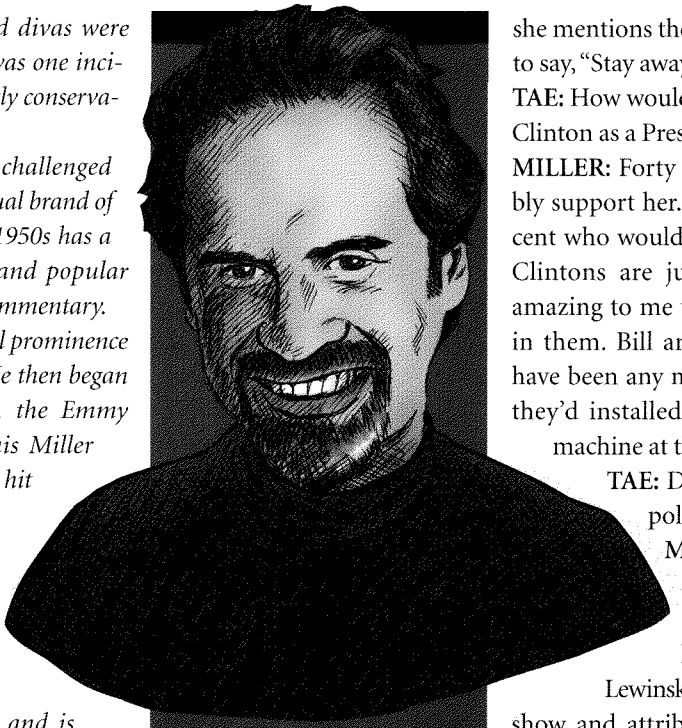
Last winter, while many Hollywood divas were protesting the war with Iraq, there was one incisive voice of dissent: that of increasingly conservative, former liberal Dennis Miller.

For almost 20 years, Miller has challenged audiences with his decidedly intellectual brand of comedy. Not since Mort Sahl in the 1950s has a comedian used politics, literature, and popular culture so astutely in his humorous commentary.

Dennis Miller first rose to national prominence in 1985 via "Saturday Night Live." He then began his own TV talk show, and later, the Emmy Award-winning HBO series "Dennis Miller Live," which lasted for nine years. He hit best-seller lists with published collections of his impassioned observational monologues, under the titles The Rant Zone, I Rant Therefore I Am, *and* Ranting Again. *He spent two years providing commentary for "Monday Night Football," and is now featured on "Hannity and Colmes" on the Fox News Channel.*

As this issue was going to press, the campaign in California to recall governor Gray Davis was in full swing. Miller's take on the situation: "Everybody in charge in this state is a Democrat. It's no longer the Andreas Fault, it's Gray Davis's fault."

TAE *associate editor John Meroney and writer Patricia Beauchamp visited with Miller backstage just before an appearance on NBC's "The Tonight Show with Jay Leno."*



I don't fancy myself an artist. Hollywood is not a "sword from the stone" moment for me.

TAE: Hillary Clinton has just sold hundreds of thousands of copies of her book *Living History*. What do you think of her success as an author?

MILLER: She's boring to me. And as for this "Draft Hillary" movement—I don't think it's ever going to happen. She doesn't make a move without consulting her old man, and as soon as she mentions the word "draft" to him, he's going to say, "Stay away from it."

TAE: How would Americans respond to Senator Clinton as a Presidential candidate?

MILLER: Forty percent of voters would probably support her. I'd like to think there's 60 percent who wouldn't. Most people know that the Clintons are just career politicians, but it's amazing to me that some people really believe in them. Bill and Hillary's marriage couldn't have been any more about convenience than if they'd installed a Slim Jim rack and Slurpee machine at the base of their bed.

TAE: Do you dislike Senator Clinton's political ideology, too?

MILLER: I have an across-the-board disapproval of her. In 1998, when Bill was first accused of having an affair with Monica Lewinsky, Hillary went on NBC's "Today" show and attributed the allegations to a "vast right-wing conspiracy." That seemed extremely stupid to me. *Name* the people. She can spend 30 years of her life apologizing for her husband's indiscretions if she wants to, but at the same time she shouldn't champion herself as the ideal woman. In 1992, Hillary told the press, "I suppose I could have stayed home and baked cookies and had teas." That statement really bugged me. She's in essence as "cookie" as one can get because of the kind of treatment she's accepted from her husband. I think most women would have said, "Quit screwing around on me or I'm out of here."

TAE: What do you think of the Clintons reinventing themselves as New Yorkers?

MILLER: I view Hillary as an inverted carpetbagger. I'm convinced that Bill Clinton put her up there because he knew New York was a community property state, vis-à-vis divorce settlements.

TAE: Is it safe to say you were not impressed

Illustration by Sam Torode

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with how she handled 9/11?

MILLER: Well, Rudy Giuliani, who is often portrayed as an unfeeling, Hitler-like guy by the liberals, attended scores of memorial services for the victims. He exhibited great sympathy for people. Hillary, on the other hand, didn't go to a single one until it became an issue and then I think she probably hit a couple just to get her record square. She didn't belong in New York in the first place.

TAE: For bleeding heart liberals, the Clintons don't seem to be very empathetic when it counts.

MILLER: The Clintons feel everyone's pain—unless they caused it. Let's ask Webster Hubbell if the Clintons feel his pain. He was in the blast site of the Whitewater scandal, so he had to go.

TAE: England put a woman in its top post back in 1979, when Margaret Thatcher became Prime Minister. In the U.S. we've got women in the Senate, the House, and in high-ranking offices. There's Condoleezza Rice, who's national security advisor. Do you think America is ready for a woman President?

MILLER: Yes. I think Condoleezza Rice would make a great President. I hope she runs against Hillary. That would be my dream ticket in 2008: Hillary Clinton versus Condi Rice; an imagined track record versus a real track record.

TAE: What are your thoughts on the current state of Democratic candidates running for President?

MILLER: I haven't seen a starting nine like this since the '62 Mets. They lost 120 games. I'm praying they nominate Howard Dean, former governor of Vermont. As they say in the world of tennis, that's a walkover. Al Sharpton doesn't have a chance. Somewhere between the "R" and the "P" in the name Sharpton you should get the name Tawana Brawley out. And you should have to say it that quickly just to remind everybody about the divisiveness of that situation. Dick Gephardt seems like a decent man, but he suffers from a Dukakis-ian lack of charisma. Most politicians are transparent; he's translucent.

TAE: What about North Carolina's Senator John Edwards?

MILLER: There are enough litigious people in this country. I don't need the Commander in Chief serving papers on our enemies: "You will be deposed, Mr. Hussein!"

TAE: Many Democrats were pleased with Senator Joe Lieberman's performance as Al Gore's running mate. What do you make of him as a Presidential candidate?

That would be my dream ticket in 2008: Hillary Clinton versus Condoleezza Rice; an imagined track record versus a real track record.

MILLER: Joe Lieberman has taken more "great stands" on issues than any man in the history of this country! He should realize that occasionally a great man lowers the other foot. If you're going to threaten to walk down the reflecting pool and give a piece of your mind as a President, then you'll have to do it every 20 years or so.

TAE: Democrats have a fondness for Massachusetts politicians. What about Senator John Kerry?

MILLER: I've met John Kerry and I don't think he wants the Presidency. If he did, he wouldn't have said that what we need now is not just a regime change in Iraq, but in the United States, too. That's a stupid play for a smart man. It reminded me of Gary Hart back in 1987 when he told the press to follow him and then got caught with Donna Rice. I think Kerry's statement was a subconscious way of pleading, "Get me out of here!" When you're running for President and it's the culmination of all your supposed dreams, it's tough to get yourself out of it. And you're thinking, "This is what I've always wanted, isn't it?" And then some deep unconscious alarm goes off. It says, "No, no! Wife has $500 million! Have place on Nantucket! Get out now! Golf! No, no!" So you blow it up yourself.

TAE: Florida was a pivotal state in the last election, and now Senator Bob Graham is running. Do you think he'll get any traction?

MILLER: Bob Graham might be the smartest of them all, but it's just not going to happen for him. Two words why it's not going to happen: Bob Graham. I don't care if you're from the South. At some point, you have to be "somebody" from the South and he just doesn't cut that sort of swath.

TAE: Despite continued controversy, Rev. Franklin Graham refuses to back down from his argument that Islam is "a very evil and wicked religion." Do you agree with him?

MILLER: Graham puts himself in danger saying that about Islam because they have religious edicts called "fatwas." Ayatollah Khomeini put one on Salman Rushdie after the publication of *The Satanic Verses,* calling for his murder. Besides, making across-the-board religious judgments about people just seems presumptuous and ill-informed.

TAE: Why do you think the U.S. has been targeted by terrorists?

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MILLER: We're in Saudi Arabia and Osama bin Laden is repulsed by that. He believes we've sullied the most sacred spots in the Islamic world. He said that, and he's evidently a forceful enough speaker in those conclaves that he can turn young boys into monsters who go on suicide missions.

TAE: In April, actor Tim Robbins spoke to the National Press Club and described the various ways he feels he's been punished for speaking out against the war. He went on to say, "If you oppose this administration, there can and will be ramifications." Robbins and other prominent actors criticized for their anti-war views have even raised the specter of a new Hollywood "blacklist."

MILLER: That's folly. I don't see how that's manifested itself in Tim's life. He might have something to show us in five years if an actor of his great ability doesn't get work, but I don't believe that's going to happen. You can say whatever you want in this country, but Tim is in a business where one's grasp on the public's acceptance is so tenuous that any of us can be whacked in a moment. If I do poorly on two "Tonight Shows" in a row, I'm out the door. There are people who don't have careers because audiences don't like the way they look—so of course the public might not like you for what you stand for. It doesn't take much for somebody to click off and say, "I'm not going to spend the eight bucks tonight." To go to a movie, a person has to get up, put his clothes on, get in the car, drive to a crappy mall, and wait in line—he's looking for reasons *not* to go! All the average person needs is, "I don't like what that movie star believes." That guy is going to start watching movies at home instead of getting up and going to yours. My guess is that Tim Robbins will continue to work.

TAE: In spring of this year, Dixie Chicks lead singer Natalie Maines told a London audience, "We're ashamed that the President of the United States is from Texas." This comment sparked a furor—people publicly destroyed their CDs and sales of the group's album dropped. In response to the backlash, the Dixie Chicks turned it into a free speech issue, appearing in the nude on the cover of *Entertainment Weekly* with words such as "Proud American," "Saddam's Angels," and "Free Speech" painted on their bodies. Do you think the public's response to them is unfair?

MILLER: The Dixie Chicks got exactly what they deserved. In a time of war, to go on foreign soil and decry your President should probably cause a hue and cry. When it first happened, I thought, "I'm never going to buy another one of their albums." And then I thought, "You know what, I've never bought one of their albums—I don't like their music."

TAE: Do you ever base what you say on how you think the public will react?

MILLER: I considered public reaction more when I was younger. When I was on "Saturday Night Live" the network censor would come up to me and say, "I don't like that joke. It's off," I didn't fight him. I'm just that sort of a pragmatist. I'm not willing to lose my job over a joke. Plus, I don't fancy myself an artist. Hollywood is not a "sword from the stone" moment for me. I feel like I'm punching the clock at a job that I'm reasonably adept at and trying to take care of my family. These days, though, I tend to say pretty much what I think.

TAE: You make your living in a very volatile profession. Do you have a philosophy that helps keep you grounded?

MILLER: Jay Leno and I have the same approach to this business. We feel lucky we've got it, we work our asses off, and we try to let people know that we don't take it that seriously. Show business is a freakish break. It's an amazing confluence of events that affords you a life for which you should hit your knees every night and thank God that you've been blessed to be given. One of my favorite quotations is by "Dr. J" Julius Irving: "I live my life trying to never appear to be a small man." That was so beautifully and succinctly eloquent to me, especially coming from a man who stands 6'8"—I know how he meant it.

TAE: In 2000, you beat out Rush Limbaugh for a spot on ABC's "Monday Night Football." What was that job like?

MILLER: It's the best sports broadcasting job in the world. I was impressed when I got it because I'd never even been to a football game. Then here I was sitting in the booth on "Monday Night Football." I did it for two years and was hired for a third, but when John Madden left Fox, I called Dan Fouts that day and said, "I bet you we get whacked within 48 hours." It was 36. Look, there's a big dog in every field and when he's loose on the tundra and he's feeding, you'd best not get in the way because you'll catch a

I like seeing my President pray. This is an infinitely complex world and at some point one has to have faith in one's religion. I'm glad there's someone higher President Bush answers to.

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hoof. I've been on "Saturday Night Live" and "Monday Night Football." Now I'm looking for something iconic to do on Wednesday.

TAE: What sportscasters do you most admire?

MILLER: I really admired Howard Cosell. He's right up there with Lucille Ball and Johnny Carson as one of the greatest communicators I've ever seen on television. I was fascinated by his cadence, his meter. He was almost able to serve the language better because there wasn't a physical element: Cosell wasn't a good-looking man. In my book, he's one of the top five broadcasters of all time.

TAE: Professional athletes seem to make headlines for crime and corruption as much as they do for home runs and touchdowns. Did your work on "Monday Night Football" give you an insight into why professional sports are plagued with such excesses?

MILLER: Any time you hand people who are in their early twenties $10 million, you're going to have some problems. By and large, I was impressed by how dedicated and charitable these guys were. We always read about the athlete with the gun who gets pulled over. But look, there are 50 players on a team, and there are 32 teams—about 1,500 players. Take any group of 1,500 men in that age bracket and I'll bet you that over the course of a year one of them gets pulled over for speeding and has cocaine. It's just the nature of the beast. Ninety-nine percent of those football players are some of the greatest guys I've ever met. A couple of them gave me a "screw you." But, you know what, a couple of them should have said that. I'd think I was a punk, too.

TAE: What news programs do you watch?

MILLER: I like Jon Stewart from "The Daily Show." I think he's quite brilliant. Chris Matthews was a bit of a McGuffin because we all thought he disliked liberals but it turns out he just disliked Clinton. Chris got all our hopes up. He turned Clinton into an asshole every night and now he's trying to do the same to Bush. I like Bill O'Reilly and his carnival barker approach to news.

TAE: And the big three—Dan Rather, Tom Brokaw, and Peter Jennings?

MILLER: I have to give it to Tom Brokaw—at least he exhibits some human qualities. The other two guys are like Stepford anchors. Jennings seems to think he's out of an Ian Fleming novel. But my favorite newscaster is Brit Hume because he's so even-handed.

When I kept hearing liberals equating Giuliani with Hitler—that's when I really left the liberal reservation.

TAE: Shortly after 9/11, Bill Maher said, "We have been the cowards lobbing cruise missiles from 2,000 miles away. That's cowardly." In response, Sears and Fed Ex pulled their advertising from his program and later ABC cancelled his show. What do you think of the controversy over his comments?

MILLER: It's dangerous to try to look witty about something in the wake of the biggest tragedy in the history of this country. I couldn't put together a sentence for two weeks, much less something pithy. It's not a good idea to go on and right away try to make some "wise" remark when audiences aren't in a "wise" mood. The whole country was devastated. Bill now has himself another show. Tell that to Tim Robbins. I don't believe in a blacklist.

TAE: You once considered being a journalist. How did you go from that to comedy?

MILLER: An editor once told me he was going to pay me by the column inch so I opted to move in a different direction. Curiously enough, I ended up being the "Weekend Update" anchor on "Saturday Night Live," which is some bizarre alternative universe journalism job.

TAE: Do you have a routine that you go through when you're preparing your comedy?

MILLER: You mean besides passing a knotted cloth through my colon each morning at 8:30? I read the Drudge Report. Matt probably fancies himself as a latter day Walter Winchell, but he's not as mean as Winchell. I just like Drudge's eclectic accumulation of tidbits. The bulletin board he puts up is fascinating. He filters the kinds of news I'm interested in.

TAE: Many conservatives believe that Hollywood thinks heartland America is just flyover country. Are they correct?

MILLER: I'm hardly a gregarious man but the friends I have in Hollywood are by and large some of the nicest people I've ever met in my life. It's just that their attempts to be solicitous to the heartland sometimes are a little misguided and condescending. When I look at folks from the heartland I don't think, "Boy, are they missing it." I view them as the ones who are smart enough to know that going to Hollywood's not really a cool way to lead your life. They're put together well enough so that they never had to go solicit the approval of strangers to fill their self-esteem void.

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TAE: Many of your show business colleagues have sharply criticized President Bush, but you like him. Why?

MILLER: He's much smarter than his enemies think he is. I think he's a genius. People whine about him getting into Yale—the way I see it, if your old man buys a building you *should* get into Yale! But I think he could have gotten into Yale on his own; he's a very smart man.

TAE: In your interview with Phil Donahue on MSNBC last winter, you said that one of the things you most admired about Bush was that he had stopped drinking at age 40.

MILLER: The fact that midway through his life, he realized he was drinking too much and screwing up and stopped it—that's more impressive than what college he attended. What he did is a fine accomplishment, and I think it's putting him in touch with his God.

TAE: Some of his critics say he's too vocal about his religious beliefs.

MILLER: In this messed up world, I like seeing my President pray. I don't think a person can get answers out of books anymore. This is an infinitely complex world and at some point one has to have faith in one's religion. I find it endearing that President Bush prays to God and that he's not an agnostic or an atheist. I'm glad there's someone higher that he has to answer to.

TAE: How do you think the country would have been different had Al Gore been President on September 11, 2001?

MILLER: Gore doesn't have a real sense of self. He probably would have invaded Afghanistan –but almost anyone would have done that. But go into Iraq? I doubt it. Hans Blix and the Scooby Doo van would still be driving around looking for weapons, like something in a Mack Sennett silent film. You could hear that music where Blix goes in the front door and the weapons come out the back. That's what I used to imagine when I saw Blix.

TAE: You've become more conservative over the years. How do you explain this shift?

MILLER: I'm not as sure of my guesswork anymore. To be on the Left, you have to be amazingly certain about things you're guessing at, and I felt like a phony. I was looking for ideas, and all I was getting from liberals was, "We'd like a little more of your money, and we're kind of reticent to protect you from bad guys." Really?

I've been on "Saturday Night Live" and "Monday Night Football." Now I'm looking for something iconic to do on Wednesday.

That's all you're offering? I gotta go! I can't stay anymore. Also, when I kept hearing liberals equating Giuliani with Hitler—that's when I really left the reservation. Even before 9/11, I'd travel to New York and say, "Wow, this city certainly seems to be running better." Giuliani is the kind of leader I admire. When it's five degrees below zero and you arrest somebody to get him inside and off the street—that's not something Hitler would do. It made me realize that I was with the wrong group if that's what Hitler looked like to them.

TAE: Where do you see the danger in that?

MILLER: I always wondered how Hitler happened. I even went so far as to read William L. Shirer's *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*. I read all 1,200 pages and at the end of it I remember thinking, "Yeah, but how does Hitler happen?" Part of it has to do with the Left mislabeling people as Hitler. It's like Pierce Brosnan at the end of the remake of *The Thomas Crown Affair*. He dressed everybody up in the same Bowler cap and overcoat, and then he walks right through the middle of them without being noticed. The Left is so busy saying John Ashcroft is Hitler, and President Bush is Hitler, and Rudy Giuliani is Hitler that the only guy they wouldn't call Hitler was the foreign guy with the mustache who was throwing people who disagreed with him into the wood-chipper.

TAE: When filmmaker Michael Moore won the Oscar for Best Feature Documentary for *Bowling for Columbine*, he took all of the other nominees on stage with him, and proceeded to make a statement about a "fictitious" Presidency and a "fictitious" war. Given your support of the President, this must have outraged you.

MILLER: The Oscars are pretty much the quintessential American hood ornament, so if you're a *real* iconoclast, you don't show up at the ceremony. Eminem at least had the balls not to show at the Oscars because he disagreed with it. Michael Moore just seemed like a big sloppy angry guy to me. He thinks he's more of a patriot than we are because he "questions" our government. That's boring. My yawn gets so big that they almost want to assign it a hurricane name. For Moore to go so far around the Cape of Good Hope that he finds that America is the problem is tedious. We're not perfect, but we're not the problem. At the same time, I think we should fight to

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preserve a country where people such as Michael Moore get to miss the point as badly as he misses it.

TAE: In one of your rants, you argue that America is less tolerant today than ever before. Explain.

MILLER: It's the conundrum of the closed-minded, "open" society. Everyone seems to have an agenda, and everyone is such a complete unyielding pain in the ass about it that we have a shrieking cacophony of heartfelt sentiment. We have the fascism of absolute freedom. Somehow, everyone thinks that his core beliefs should translate to the law of the land. My feeling is that my core beliefs shouldn't go any further than the tips of my fingers, and maybe my children.

TAE: So you're not planning a vacation in France anytime soon.

MILLER: Absolutely not. The French have never had a backbone and that's fine because they've got a pretty city. I've heard French passports were provided to fleeing Iraqis in Syria. They better watch their asses, because that's going beyond being just a contentious ally. It's not quite to Basher Assad status yet, but they should not aid and abet our enemies or we should cut off all relations with them.

TAE: So should Americans boycott French products?

MILLER: Yes. That's a no-brainer. People say, "Are you gonna fight every country you disagree with?" To which I respond, "Yes." If they're providing passports, I'm going to ask for Pellegrino.

MARLIN continued from page 45

thing-or-Other. Surprisingly, some libertarians have encouraged this by turning in positive reviews of the governor's economic stewardship that are based purely on his rhetorical statements, or earlier actions that have now been reversed.

Pataki's actual record is not impressive. How can a tax-and-spend politician who has allied himself with corrupt unions, big government leeches, enviros, and pro-abortion and pro-gay-rights leftists honestly believe he has a shot at winning favor with America's GOP voters? When the Republicans convene their national convention in New York City in 2004 to crown their nominee, they will find themselves hard in the middle of an economic mess that Pataki's excessive tax and spend policies have created. Let's see the Peekskill Peacock do a mating dance under those conditions.

Thomas More, the patron saint of politicians, observed: "When statesmen forsake their own private conscience for the sake of their public duties, they lead their country by a short route to chaos." Governor Pataki abandoned his political principles, and did economic and cultural damage to his state in the process. All the pandering and Madison Avenue promotion in the world won't paper over that. By deserting mainstream Republican principles, George Pataki has forfeited his seat at the leadership table of the party of Ronald Reagan.

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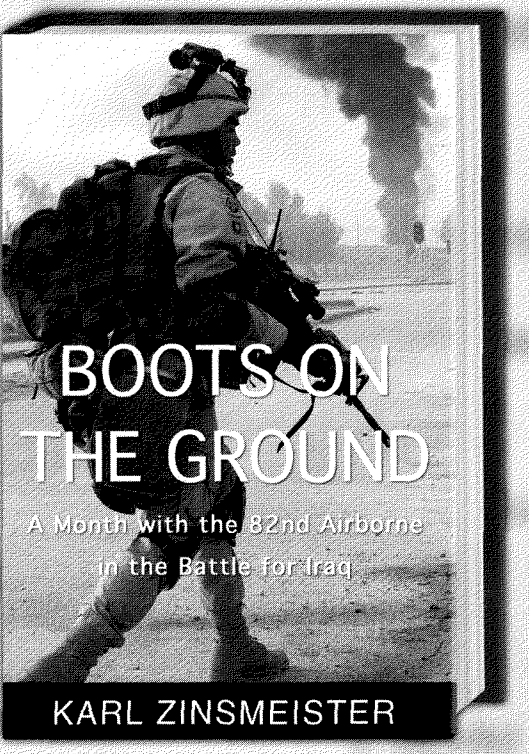

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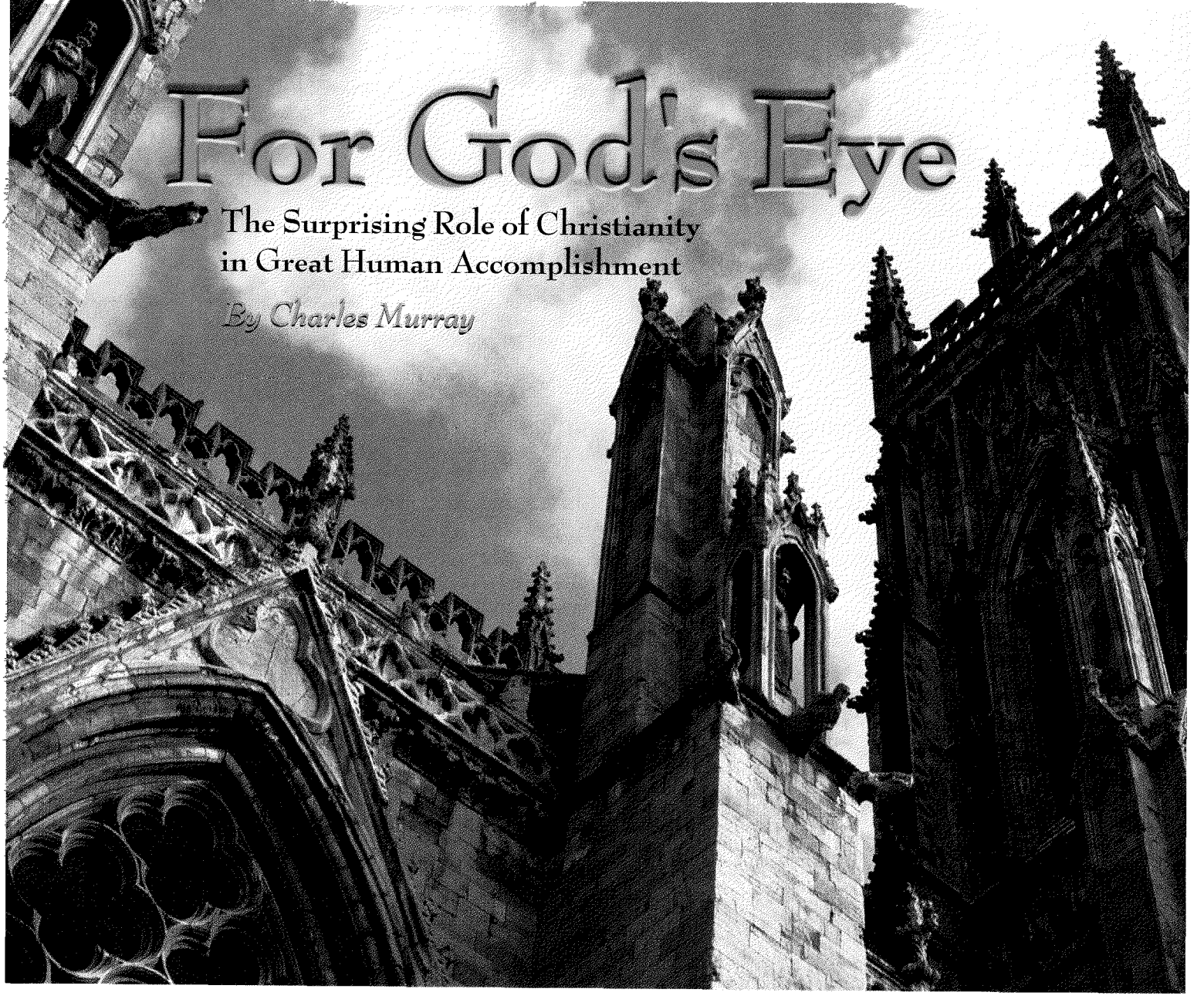

For God's Eye

The Surprising Role of Christianity in Great Human Accomplishment

By Charles Murray

At rare times and in scattered settings, human beings have achieved great things. They have discovered truths about the way the universe works, written words that illuminate the human condition, arranged sounds and colors in ways that touch our deepest emotions. I have spent the last half-decade researching and writing a book about such achievements in the arts and sciences, beginning at 800 B.C. and stopping at 1950.

The experience was a humbling one. A colleague whom I asked to look at my treatment of great mathematical accomplishment was affronted that Carl Gauss had ranked merely fourth in my index of mathematicians. "It's a wee bit uncharitable," he wrote,

> …not to point out that Gauss, as well as being a Grade A++ mathematician, was also a first-rank astronomer (found the first asteroid after Piazzi lost it, e.g.) and physicist (co-invented electric telegraph, invented heliotrope, etc., etc.). If you asked a surveyor, his work on surveying the Kingdom of Bavaria would probably put him in the first rank of THEM, too. In the large sphere of pure and applied math, I doubt there is anything Gauss wasn't first rank in…. Before the Eulers, Gausses, and Newtons, we are worms, worms.

I would not go so far as to say that the rest of us are worms, but if the several hundred pages of my book can be said to have a principal message, it is this: Excellence exists, and it is time to acknowledge and celebrate the magnificent inequality that has enabled some of our fellow humans to have so enriched the lives of the rest of us.

The bulk of those several hundred pages are about who, what, when, and where. I also tackle such delicate questions as how one identifies excellence—in this nonjudgmental age, who is to say that

Charles Murray is W. H. Brady Scholar for Culture and Freedom at the American Enterprise Institute. This is adapted from his new book Human Accomplishment: The Pursuit of Excellence in the Arts and Sciences 800 B.C. to 1950.

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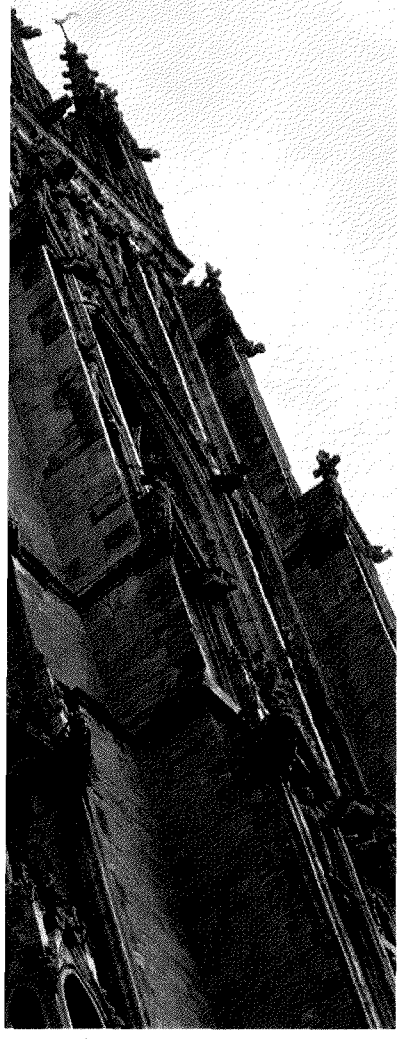


Beethoven is better than the Beatles? The last chapters give my best reading of why human accomplishment has flourished in some eras and places while languishing in others.

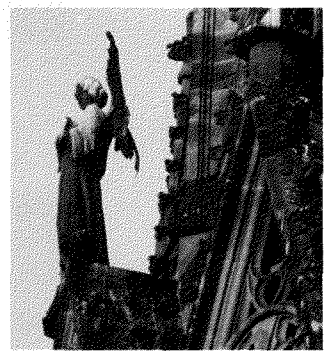
The explanations—there cannot be just one when dealing with phenomena so complex—fall into two categories. If you want to know how streams of accomplishment are nourished once they get started, such things as economic wealth, political freedom, and the existence of cities that serve as cultural centers explain a lot. The most powerful single explanation is even more obvious: Great models in one generation tend to encourage the production of great successors in the next. But these bread-and-butter explanations can't explain what *creates* a stream of great accomplishment, or why one dies out.

One of my most basic conclusions is that a major stream of human accomplishment is fostered by a culture in which talented people believe that life has a purpose. Likewise, human accomplishment is fostered by a culture that encourages people to believe they can act efficaciously as individuals, and enables them to do so.

On both these fronts, Europe is an oddball. Why? The conclusions I came to are far from original with me, but they have not been fashionable for some decades, so I should state them explicitly: The Greeks laid the foundation for Western achievement in the arts and sciences. But it was the transmutation of that intellectual foundation by Christianity that gave modern Europe its impetus and that pushed European accomplishment so far ahead of all other cultures around the world. I will add that I reach this conclusion not out of personal religious conviction but as an agnostic who became persuaded of Christianity's transforming role by my reading of the historical record.

Christianity's revolutionary potential begins with its core teachings that all human beings are invited into a personal relationship with God, that all individuals are equal in God's sight regardless of their earthly station, and that salvation is available to all who believe and act accordingly. It is a theology that empowers and energizes individuals as no other philosophy or religion ever did before.

That revolutionary potential had to wait on the arrival of Thomas Aquinas (1226–1274) to be fully unleased. Aquinas made the case that human intelligence is a gift from God, and that to apply human intelligence to understanding the world is not an affront to God but pleasing to Him; that faith and reason are not in opposition, but complementary. Aquinas thus blended an inspirational message of God's love and care with an injunction to serve God by using all of one's human capacities of intellect and will. This combination proved a potent spur to human action.



Christianity empowers and energizes individuals as no other philosophy or religion ever did before.

At the opening of the twenty-first century, religion is an especially fraught topic in American life, so let me try to forestall some misunderstandings.

First, I am not arguing that the secular life must be one without purpose. My position is simply that it is *harder* to find that purpose if one is an atheist or agnostic than if one is a Christian believer. It is harder still to pursue life's purpose over years of effort if one is not a believer. This becomes relevant to great accomplishment because great human accomplishment has typically required obsessive, relentless effort over a long period of time. Devotion to the personal Christian God has proved to be a potent energizer of that kind of effort.

Second, I do not see Christianity as the only source of belief in one's autonomous power to achieve life's purpose. Other routes are possible—but, again, *harder* than if one is a believing Christian. For evidence, look at today's secular creative elites in Europe and the United States, where ennui, anomie, fatalism, and a sense of powerlessness are pervasive.

Finally, my position is not at odds with the obvious fact that great human accomplishment has been produced outside Christian cultures, and even in cultures where the creative elites are secular. Christian religious belief is one of the variables that help to explain how human accomplishment in the arts and sciences has been ignited. I am not arguing that it explains everything. But it does explain a lot.

One ready rejoinder to the argument I just outlined is that the creative elites of both Europe and America have been increasingly secular since the Enlightenment, yet

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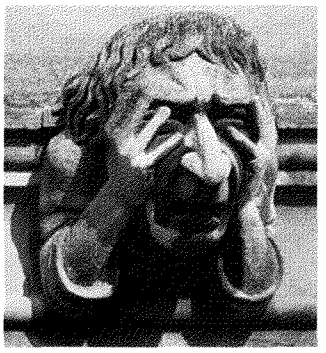

Think of the period from the Enlightenment through the twentieth century as a kind of adolescence of our species.

the two centuries after the Enlightenment saw unprecedented economic, social, and technological progress, and at least some great artistic achievement as well. Exploring that objection took me into the subject of the accomplishment *rate*.

If you are told that a city experienced 1,000 robberies last year, you know nothing about how crime-ridden that city is until you also know its population. Similarly, it is no surprise that France has had more important playwrights than Belgium; it also has had a lot more people. But should we expect France of 1930, with a population of 41 million people, to have twice the number of important playwrights of France of 1630, with a population of 21 million people?

What happens when measures of accomplishment are weighted by size of population? Though the results vary in different fields, the overall story is one of recent decline in high achievement in both the arts and sciences, usually starting sometime in the 1800s.

It may seem absurd to argue that science and technology declined in any sense during the last two centuries, a period that brought more progress in human well-being than any comparable era in history. But if you measure significant advances in understanding of how the world works, not just the culmulative impact of science and technology on our lives, there is indeed reason to conclude that the rate of progress has been slowing for some time.

In 1969, Gunther Stent, a molecular biologist at the University of California at Berkeley, was the first to publish a full-fledged argument that progress in science and technology, along with all other enterprises based on accumulated knowledge, must soon come to an end—perhaps in Stent's lifetime, perhaps in another generation or two. He noted that subjects like anatomy and geography had already been fully explored, and that even chemistry and physics were not unlimited. Everything there is to know about chemical reactions, for example, can eventually be known. Once known, that field will be as closed to new discoveries as anatomy is now.

Just because much is still undone in a given field doesn't mean that the remaining work will be particularly significant. There are, for example, thousands of chemical reactions that have not yet had papers written specifically about them. No matter: The goal of chemistry is to understand the principles that govern the behavior of molecules during reactions—a goal that was effectively reached in 1931 when Linus Pauling published "The Nature of the Chemical Bond." The same logic applies to the varieties of insect and plant life that are still unchronicled. Few of those undiscovered varieties will add substantively to our knowledge of biology when they eventually come to light. The catalogue of life will be more completely enumerated, not more completely understood.

Take as an analogy a large, complex jigsaw puzzle of an unusual kind. Unlike most jigsaw puzzles, it has no picture on the box. Also unlike most jigsaw puzzles, the pieces are of different sizes. Some are larger than others, large enough to give a sense of what that part of the puzzle is about, especially if just a few of the large pieces can be linked.

As the puzzle is assembled, the larger pieces serve as the focal points around which other pieces are tested. When those are exhausted, the next pieces to be worked on are ones with patterns or unusual colors on them, because those are easier to match up with other pieces than, say, pieces of a cloudless sky. At some point, the entire picture will be understood, even though most of the sky is left undone.

The history of science has been something like assembling that jigsaw puzzle. Long before the puzzle was complete, places had been found for the largest and most revealing pieces. As more and more people began to work on the puzzle in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, more pieces were linked up than ever before, but many of them were filling in blanks for parts of the picture that were already clear. The skills of the newly arrived puzzle assemblers can be just as high as ever, they can work just as hard, they can put together as many or even more pieces, but they will not win nearly as large a place in the chronicle of how the jigsaw puzzle was assembled.

As physicist Richard Feynman put it, basic science "is like the discovery of America—you only discover it once." What Feynman didn't mention was that his specialty, particle physics, was among the most recent to hit its golden age, along with astrophysics, genetics, and neuroscience. But for many specialties within astronomy, biology, chemistry, geology, physics, and mathematics, the fundamental laws had been found decades or centuries earlier. In philosophy, some of the fundamental truths had been discovered not decades, not even centuries, but *millennia* earlier.

The filling-up of basic scientific knowledge is a benign explanation for the declining rate of scientific accomplishment. And who knows? Perhaps the Einsteinian universe is as far from the final answer as the Newtonian universe was, and basic science will find vast new *terrae incognitae* to explore. At present, though, the accomplishment rate in science is falling, even as wonderful improvements in human life continue to accumulate.

The observed declines in the accomplishment rate for the visual arts, literature, and music are not so comfortably explained away. In the visual arts, the indexes in my book show that the decline in the accomplishment rate begins all the way back in the last half of the 1600s. In music, the rate of production starts to ebb in the mid 1700s, and hits rock

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bottom in the 1900s. Western literature shows a steep drop beginning in the second half of the 1800s. After exploring potential statistical artifacts, I conclude that the decreases are real, and perhaps even understated.

What can be going on? One explanation (I am skipping others) feeds into the role of religion that was discussed earlier. From the Enlightenment onward, the declines in the arts were accelerated by the abandonment of a well-articulated vision of the true, the beautiful, and the good.

Great accomplishment in the arts is anchored in pursuit of transcendental goals like truth and goodness. Without these high goals, art can rise to the highest rungs of craft, captivating entertainments can be produced, amazing intellectual gymnastics can be performed. But in the same way that a goldsmith needs gold, a culture needs a coherent sense of the transcendental to foster great accomplishment.

Starting in the 1800s, though, many artists consciously turned away from the transcendental ideals of truth, beauty, and goodness. In literature, for instance, European and American writers from World War I onward were for the most part secularized and disillusioned with Western culture. Many substituted communism for religion as the source of their beliefs about right and wrong. There's only so much a writer can do with a moral vision that excludes the soul and rationalizes the slaughter of innocents. Other artists pursued the kinds of nihilistic, situational morality that became known as existentialism and postmodernism, again excluding God and goodness, and even the concept of truth itself, from their worldview.

An even more drastic revolution occurred in the visual arts and serious music. That painters, sculptors, and composers rejected the traditional ideals that had ruled their arts during the early twentieth century is well known. The artists and composers themselves said so, long and loudly. What happened was a wholesale casting off of artistic legacies.

This is not the place to go into the reasons why visual artists and composers became so alienated from the legacy of Western culture and from their audiences in the early twentieth century, but merely to note that they did. The result: the visual art and concert music of the twentieth century was built on banal rather than transcendental visions. The secularization of Western creative elites had direct negative effects.

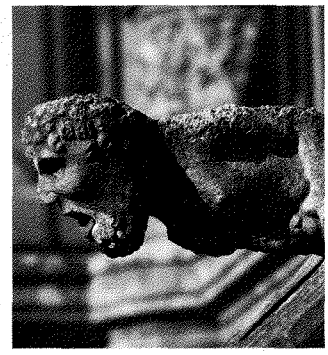
Human Accomplishment takes the story only to 1950, because history's judgment on achievements since then has yet to settle. But the question is inescapable: What are we to make of our contemporary situation?

As I indicated in my interpretation of the falling accomplishment rate in science, I expect the sciences to flourish even if the acquisition of new basic knowledge must slow. In the arts, I am less sanguine. Ask yourself this question about the period since 1950: What sculpture, novel, play, painting, film, or musical composition produced during the last 53 years are you confident will still be considered important as a work of art 200 years from now? I can think of only a handful, and my confidence even in them is shaky.

The post-1950 West has unquestionably produced some wonderful entertainments: "The Simpsons" is wickedly smart, *Private Ryan* is gripping, *Groundhog Day* is a brilliant moral fable. The West's popular culture is a mixed bag, with the irredeemably vulgar intermingled with the wittiest and most thoughtful work. Production quality is often superb.

Why not be satisfied with shiny, craftsmanlike entertainments? There are more sophisticated ways to frame the answer, but it comes down to this: To be in the presence of greatness is exciting. The "best" has a magic about it, whether we are eating a meal cooked by a great chef, watching a great athlete perform under pressure, or witnessing anything else done superbly well, far beyond our own reach.

The depth of gratification we get from watching people perform at the pinnacle increases as the difficulty and importance of what they are doing increases. Danger and self-sacrifice are part of this calculation, which explains why no sporting achievement has the same grip on our imaginations as heroism in war. In the sciences, Einstein's $E=mc^2$ became an icon not only because it represented such a dazzling mental leap, but because it illuminated our understanding of the very universe.



Ask yourself: What sculpture, novel, play, painting, film, or musical composition produced since 1950 will still be considered important 200 years from now?

In the arts, writers and painters and composers are engaged in another kind of complex and difficult endeavor: explaining ourselves to ourselves. When they succeed at the highest level, they transcend what we ordinarily believe to be within the capacity of our kind. We can say to ourselves proudly, "A human being did that!"

That's why we cannot be satisfied with a culture that turns out nothing but shiny, craftsmanlike entertainments. We may outstrip our forebears in wealth, creature comforts, health, and lifespan. We may outstrip them in political freedom and equality. But a culture that is unable to compete with the past's greatest expressions of the human spirit is in some sense a backward one. It is dispiriting to know that the greatest artistic accomplishments are monopolized by past cultures whose heights we are unable to

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We may outstrip our forbears in wealth, but a culture that is unable to compete with the past's greatest artistic expressions is in some sense a backward one.

match. Being part of a culture that produces new giants would be inspiriting.

It's not clear how to get from here to there, however, because of religion's indispensable role in igniting great artistic accomplishment. Great art requires a source of inspiration that today's artists are not tapping. It requires an articulation of the human place in the cosmos, a clear understanding of the ends toward which humans should aim, and exalted standards for seeking those ends. Cultures in which the creative elites are not engaged in mature reflection on these matters don't produce great art.

But what has been true for the last few decades need not be true perpetually. The gloomy prognosis sells short the regenerating power of certain truths.

The first of these truths is that the hold of greatness on the human imagination is so binding that the present intellectual nihilism cannot survive. It seems safe to predict that, eventually, people who love literature, music, and painting for their power to express beauty, goodness, and truth will once again dominate the faculties of the world's leading universities and set the tone for artistic excellence. It is bizarre that people who scoff at transcendental notions came to have any influential role at all in a field like art. This phenomenon was the product of specific historical circumstances that will not last. Already there are signs of change. When the reversion is complete, children with the potential to create great art will once again grow up having worthy conceptions of what "great" means.

The other truth is that human beings are ineluctably drawn to fundamental questions of existence. "Why is there something rather than nothing?" is a question that none of us can avoid completely, even in times when such questions are least fashionable. "What does it mean to live a good life?" is another. It is difficult to think about such things outside spiritual frameworks. The successive blows to traditional religion thought to have been struck by Darwin, Freud, and Einstein made some intellectuals shun such questions, but there are good reasons for thinking this attitude will prove ephemeral. Think of the period from the Enlightenment through the twentieth century as a kind of adolescence of our species—a time when humans were deprived of the comforting simplicities of childhood and exposed to more complex knowledge about the world. Humans reacted injudiciously, in the manner of adolescents, thinking that they possessed wisdom that invalidated all that had gone before. If Darwin was right, then Aquinas was no longer worth reading; if Freud was right, the *Nicomachean Ethics* must be wrong. But adolescence is temporary, and when it passes young adults often realize their parents weren't so dumb after all, and find themselves rediscovering the underlying truths of childhood. That may be happening with the advent of the new century, as glib answers to solemn questions start to wear thin.

If human beings have been most magnificently productive and reached their highest cultural peaks in times and places where they believed the universe to have transcendental meaning, one must ask why. The easy answer is that the giants of the past were deluded. They imagined that what they were doing had other-worldly significance, and, lo and behold, their foolishness inspired them to compose better music or paint better pictures. But this line of thought becomes embarrassing when one confronts just what those self-deluded people accomplished. Is it plausible that individuals who accomplished things so beyond the rest of us just happened to be uniformly stupid about the great questions?

Another possibility is that they understood things we don't. When human beings are functioning at the heights of human capacity, it is a good idea to begin by assuming that they are doing something right. Johann Sebastian Bach does not need to explain himself; he made a *prima facie* case that his way of looking at the universe needs to be taken seriously.

This is not a prelude to an explanation of what the proper understandings are. I look through that glass as darkly as anyone else. In some cases I suspect it is not the clarity of the answers, but the persistence of the seeking that enables people to achieve great things. The enduring image I take from my exploration of human accomplishment is not what the giants did, but how they did it. Most, even those who fit the image of the genius in their public persona, resembled the craftsman at his bench, struggling to get things right, agonizing over mistakes, doing work over again, with a vision of perfection insistently pulling them onward.

A story is told about the medieval stonemasons who carved the gargoyles that adorn the great Gothic cathedrals. Sometimes their creations were positioned high upon the cathedral or otherwise blocked from view. Yet even knowing that their work would remain forever unseen by any human eye once the cathedral was completed and the scaffolding was taken down, the stonemasons sculpted these gargoyles as carefully an any of the others. It was said that they carved for the eye of God. That, written in a thousand variations, is the story of human accomplishment.

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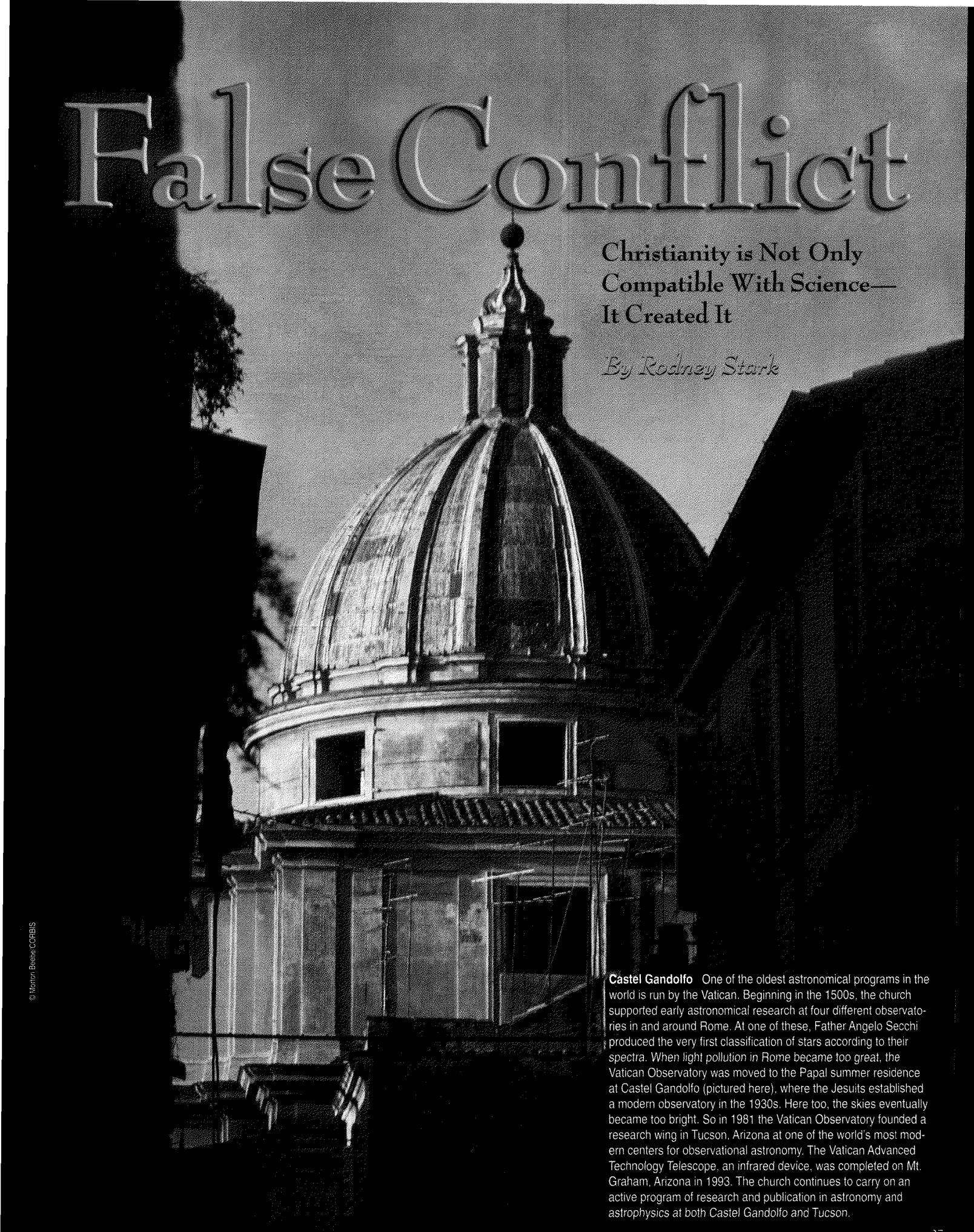
False Conflict

Christianity is Not Only Compatible With Science—It Created It

By Rodney Stark



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Castel Gandolfo One of the oldest astronomical programs in the world is run by the Vatican. Beginning in the 1500s, the church supported early astronomical research at four different observatories in and around Rome. At one of these, Father Angelo Secchi produced the very first classification of stars according to their spectra. When light pollution in Rome became too great, the Vatican Observatory was moved to the Papal summer residence at Castel Gandolfo (pictured here), where the Jesuits established a modern observatory in the 1930s. Here too, the skies eventually became too bright. So in 1981 the Vatican Observatory founded a research wing in Tucson, Arizona at one of the world's most modern centers for observational astronomy. The Vatican Advanced Technology Telescope, an infrared device, was completed on Mt. Graham, Arizona in 1993. The church continues to carry on an active program of research and publication in astronomy and astrophysics at both Castel Gandolfo and Tucson.

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Popular lore, movies, and children's stories hold that in 1492 Christopher Columbus proved the world is round and in the process defeated years of dogged opposition from the Roman Catholic Church, which insisted that the earth is flat. These tales are rooted in books like *A History of the Warfare of Science with Theology in Christendom*, an influential reference by Andrew Dickson White, founder and first president of Cornell University. White claimed that even after Columbus' return "the Church by its highest authority solemnly stumbled and persisted in going astray."

The trouble is, almost every word of White's account of the Columbus story is a lie. All educated persons of Columbus' day, very much including the Roman Catholic prelates, knew the earth was round. The Venerable Bede (c. 673-735) taught that the world was round, as did Bishop Virgilius of Salzburg (c. 720-784), Hildegard of Bingen (1098-1179), and Thomas Aquinas (c. 1224-74). All four ended up saints. *Sphere* was the title of the most popular medieval textbook on astronomy, written by the English scholastic John of Sacrobosco (c. 1200-1256). It informed that not only the earth but all heavenly bodies are spherical.

The religious figures who challenged Columbus and advised against funding him not only knew the earth was round, they also knew it was far larger than Columbus thought; they opposed his plan only on the grounds that he had badly underestimated the circumference of the earth and was counting on much too short a voyage. Columbus claimed that it was about 2,800 miles from the Canary Islands to Japan, when it is actually around 14,000 miles. Had the Western Hemisphere not surprised him, Columbus and his crew would have died at sea.

So, why does the fable of the Catholic Church's ignorance and opposition to the truth persist? Because the claim of an inevitable and bitter warfare between religion and science has, for more than three centuries, been the primary polemical device used in the atheist attack on faith. From Thomas Hobbes and Andrew Dickson White through Carl Sagan and Richard Dawkins, false claims about religion and science have been used as weapons in the battle to "free" the human mind from the "fetters of faith."

The truth is, there is no inherent conflict between religion and science. Indeed, the fundamental reality is that Christian theology was essential for the rise of science—a fact little appreciated outside the ranks of academic specialists.

Recent historical research has debunked the idea of a "Dark Ages" after the "fall" of Rome. In fact, this was an era of profound and rapid technological progress, by the end of which Europe had surpassed the rest of the world. Moreover, the so-called "Scientific Revolution" of the sixteenth century was a result of developments begun by religious scholars starting in the eleventh century. In my own academic research I have asked why these religious scholastics were interested in science at all. Why did science develop in Europe at this time? Why did it not develop anywhere else? I find answers to those questions in unique features of Christian theology.

Even in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the leading scientific figures were overwhelmingly devout Christians who believed it their duty to comprehend God's handiwork. My studies show that the "Enlightenment" was conceived initially as a propaganda ploy by militant atheists attempting to claim credit for the rise of science. The falsehood that science required the defeat of religion was proclaimed by self-appointed cheerleaders like Voltaire, Diderot, and Gibbon, who themselves played no part in the scientific enterprise—a pattern that continues today. I find that through the centuries (including right up to the present day), professional scientists have remained about as religious as the rest of the population—and far more religious than their academic colleagues in the arts and social sciences.

Having immersed myself for some years in recent historical studies on this subject I can report that these conclusions now enjoy a consensus among historians of science. Yet these truths are almost entirely unknown outside narrow scholarly circles. If asked, most well-informed people would express their absolute certainty that most of this could not possibly be true—I used to share that view. What follows is my attempt to formulate a more accurate picture of the history of the association between theology and science. It has been an extraordinarily creative relationship.

Science is not merely technology. A society does not have science simply because it can build sailing ships, smelt iron, or fashion porcelain dishes. Science is a *method* used to formulate systematic *explanations of nature*, always subject to future modification and correction. The technical innovations of prehistory, of Greco-Roman times, of Islam, of Imperial China, do not constitute science. Even when they were built on careful empirical observation, they mostly lacked the explanations and accurate theorizing that distinguish science.

Aristotle, for example, taught that the speed at which objects fall to earth is proportionate to their weight. That means a stone twice as heavy as another will fall twice as fast. A trip to any of the nearby cliffs would have allowed him to falsify this proposition.

It is the consensus among contemporary historians, philosophers, and sociologists of science that real science arose only once: in Europe. It is instructive that China, Islam, India, ancient Greece, and Rome all had a highly developed alchemy. But only in Europe did alchemy develop into chemistry. By the same token, many societies developed elaborate systems of astrology, but only in Europe did astrology lead to astronomy. And these transformations took place at a time when folklore has it that a fanatical Christianity was imposing a general ignorance on Europe—the so-called Dark Ages.

Spurred by the pioneering work of Henri Pirenne (1862-1935) and Marc Bloch (1886-1944), scholars have realized for several decades that Christianity played no role in the defeat of Rome and

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that the "Dark Ages" weren't so dark. The decline of Rome had many reasons, but the actual "fall" was nothing more than the culmination of several centuries of a shift in military capacity from the Romans to various Germanic groups. When the last battles came, Germans made up most of the Roman Army as well, and in that sense had already supplanted the ethnic Romans.

As a result of the military defeat of Rome, the political and cultural center of Europe shifted northward. It is this shift that was interpreted as a cultural and intellectual decline by those who, many centuries later, equated civilization with the writings of a tiny group of Greco-Roman intellectuals. To this earlier generation of scholars, enlightenment was to be found only in books and abstract ideas, certainly not in machines or in farming practices. As French historian Jean Gimpel has put it, the "scorn of men of letters for engineers throughout history has kept them, all too often, oblivious to the technology created by those engineers."

Whatever their differences from the leaders of classical Greece and Rome, Europe's leading scholars of, say, the eighth century were no "barbarians." Certainly not morally: Both Plato and Aristotle owned slaves, while "Dark Age" Europeans rejected slavery. Nor in terms of technology: The Medieval period, says Gimpel, was "one of the great inventive eras of mankind," as machinery was developed and put into use "on a scale no civilization had previously known."

Within just the last generation there has come a flood of books establishing that long before the end of the Middle Ages, before any "Renaissance," "Enlightenment," or "Scientific Revolution," Europe's technology advanced far beyond anything achieved by the ancients: effective waterwheels, mills, camshafts, mechanical clocks, the compass, and so on.

Not all of these were original inventions. Consider gunpowder. The Chinese were the first to use an explosive powder, but it is a misnomer to call it gunpowder since the Chinese did not develop guns, limiting its use to fireworks. When knowledge of this Chinese explosive arrived in Europe, probably during the first decade of the fourteenth century, the application to gunnery was immediate—cannon probably were first used in battle during a seige of Metz in 1324. What is certain is that by 1325 cannon existed across all of Western Europe.

The rapid adoption of the compass is another compelling example. The claim that the magnetic compass reached Europe from China through Islam is false. Apparently, it was invented independently in both China and Europe around the eleventh century. The Chinese were satisfied with a very crude compass involving a magnetized needle floating in a liquid which enabled them to determine the North-South axis, which was primarily of magical concern. In contrast, soon after discovering the floating needle compass, medieval Europeans added the compass card and then the sight which allowed mariners not only to know which way was North, but to set accurate courses in any direction. It spread among sailors from Italy to Norway in only a few years.

Far from Christianity plunging Europe into an era of ignorance and backwardness, so much technical progress took place during this era that by no later than the thirteenth century, European technology surpassed anything to be found elsewhere in the world. This did not occur because of the "rediscovery" of classical knowledge. There is no more misleading account of Western civilization than the one that starts with classical culture and proceeds directly to the "Renaissance," dismissing the millennium in between as an unfortunate and irrelevant interlude. Western civilization is not the direct descendant of Greco-Roman culture. It is the product of centuries of interaction between the cultures of the Germanic "barbarians" who superceded the Romans (who had far more sophisticated cultures than had been acknowledged) and Christianity. The subsequent addition of Greco-Roman learning was more decorative than fundamental.

Christian theology was essential to the invention of science. And the "Scientific Revolution" was led mostly by deeply religious men acting on religious motivations.

The progress achieved during the "Dark Ages" was not merely technological. Medieval Europe excelled in philosophy and science. The term "Scientific Revolution" is in many ways as misleading as "Dark Ages." Both were coined to discredit the medieval Church. The notion of a "Scientific Revolution" has been used to claim that science suddenly burst forth when a weakened Christianity could no longer prevent it, and as the recovery of classical learning made it possible. Both claims are as false as those concerning Columbus and the flat earth.

First of all, classical learning did not provide an appropriate model for science. Second, the rise of science was already far along by the sixteenth century, having been carefully nurtured by religiously devout scholastics. Granted, the era of scientific discovery that occurred in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was marvelous, the cultural equivalent of the blossoming of a rose. But, just as roses do not spring up overnight, and must undergo a long period of normal growth before they even bud, so too the blossoming of science was the result of centuries of intellectual progress.

From Ockham through Copernicus, the development of the heliocentric model of the solar system was the product of the universities—that most Christian invention. From the start, the medieval Christian university was a place created and run by scholars devoted entirely to knowledge. The autonomy of indi-

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The "Enlightenment" was conceived initially as a propaganda ploy by atheists attempting to claim credit for the rise of science.

vidual faculty members was carefully guarded. Since all instruction was in Latin, scholars were able to move about without regard for linguistic boundaries, and because their degrees were mutually recognized, they were qualified to join any faculty. It was in these universities that European Christians began to establish science. And it was in these same universities, not later in the salons of *philosophes* or Renaissance men, that the classics were restored to intellectual importance. The translations from Greek into Latin were accomplished by exceedingly pious Christian scholars.

The Italian "Renaissance" was not a "rediscovery" of classical learning. Rather, it was a period of cultural emulation during which people of fashion copied the classical style in manners, art, literature, and philosophy. Out of passion for their own ancient days of glory, explains French historian Régine Pernaud, Italians began to claim that Western history consisted of "two periods of light: antiquity and the Renaissance...and between the two...crude centuries and obscure times." Thus, from fashionable enthusiasm and ethnic pride was born the notion of a dark age followed by a dawning of a new enlightenment. But, it wasn't so. Scholastic scholars knew and understood the works of Plato, Aristotle, and all the rest.

Nor were these devout scholars intimidated by classical learning. Scholastics such as Jean Buridan and Nicole d'Oresme rejected many erroneous claims made by classical writers. Albertus Magnus (1205-1280) supplemented and corrected Aristotle, putting his empirical claims to observational testing and frequently finding them to be in error. Along the way he instituted a tradition of research that led directly to the breakthroughs in biology and physiology of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

It was the Christian scholastics, not the Greeks, Romans, Muslims, or Chinese, who built up the field of physiology based on human dissections. Once again, hardly anyone knows the truth about dissection and the medieval Church. Human dissection was not permitted in the classical world ("the dignity of the human body" forbade it), which is why Greco-Roman works on anatomy are so faulty. Aristotle's studies were limited entirely to animal dissections, as were those of Celsius and Galen. Human dissection also was prohibited in Islam.

With the Christian universities came a new outlook on dissection. The starting assumption was that what is unique to humans is a soul, not a physiology. Dissections of the human body, therefore, have no theological implications. Dissection soon became a customary part of anatomy classes. "Made without serious objection from the Church," the introduction of human dissection into the Latin West "was a momentous occurrence," summarizes historian Edward Grant.

Unfortunately, these facts are not as widely known as A. D. White's indignant, error-ridden claims a century ago about how the great physiologist Andrea Vesalius (1514-1564) "risked the most terrible dangers, and especially the charge of sacrilege" by conducting human dissections. White went on to claim that anyone who dissected a human body at this time risked "excommunication," but that the heroic Vesalius "broke without fear" from "this sacred conventionalism" and proceeded "despite ecclesiastical censure.... No peril daunted him." In truth, Vesalius' work received immense acclaim immediately upon publication. As for Vesalius' religious views, he died while returning from a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Thus we uncover another bogus account of the unrelenting religious opposition to science. But this one, like others, has left a deep and twisted effect on our intellectual culture.

I still haven't addressed *why* the scholastics and later Europeans were interested in science at all. At first glance, that may seem a foolish question. Isn't the rise of science a normal aspect of cultural progress, of the rise of civilizations? Not at all. Many quite sophisticated societies did not generate communities of scientists, or produce any body of systematic theory and observation that qualifies as science. Although China was quite civilized during many centuries when Europeans were still rude savages, the Chinese failed to develop actual science.

Similarly, although in full possession of the whole corpus of Greco-Roman scholarship, and having made some impressive advances in mathematics, Islamic scholars did not become scientists. Once they mastered the classic texts, Muslim scholars added little or nothing of their own. Nor did science arise in ancient India or Egypt. And while classical Greece had considerable learning, it did not have science.

As noted, science consists of an organized effort to explain natural phenomena. Why did this effort take root in Europe and nowhere else? Because Christianity depicted God as a rational, responsive, dependable, and omnipotent being, and the universe as his personal creation. The natural world was thus understood to have a rational, lawful, stable structure, awaiting (indeed, inviting) human comprehension. "The heavens declare the glory of God; and the firmament showeth His handiwork," states Psalm 19.

Christians developed science because they believed it could—and should—be done. Alfred North Whitehead, the great philosopher and mathematician, co-author with Bertrand Russell of the landmark *Principia Mathematica*, credited "medieval theology" for the rise of science. He pointed to the "insistence on the rationality of God," which produced the belief that "the search into nature could only result in the vindication of the faith."

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Whitehead ended with the remark that the images of God found in other religions, especially in Asia, are too impersonal or too irrational to have sustained science. A God who is capricious or unknowable gives no incentive for humans to dig deeply into his essence. Moreover, most non-Christian religions don't posit a creation. If the universe is without beginning or purpose, has no Creator, is an inconsistent, unpredictable, and arbitrary mystery, there is little reason to explore it. Under those religious premises, the path to wisdom is through meditation and mystical insights, and there is no occasion to celebrate reason.

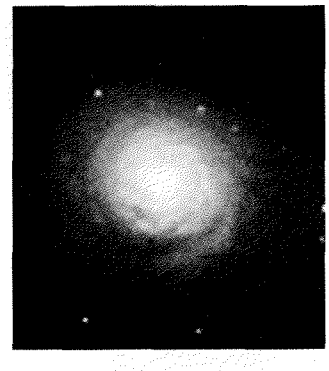
In contrast, Tertullian, one of the earliest Christian theologians (c. 160-225), instructed that God has willed that the world he has provided "should be handled and understood by reason." The weight of opinion in the early and medieval church was that there is a duty to understand, in order to better marvel at God's handiwork. Saint Augustine (354-430) held that reason was indispensable to faith: "Heaven forbid that God should hate in us that by which he made us superior to the animals! Heaven forbid that we should believe in such a way as not to accept or seek reasons, since we could not even believe if we did not possess rational souls." Of course, Christian theologians accepted that God's word must be believed even if the reasons were not apparent. In matters "that we cannot yet grasp by reason—though one day we shall be able to do so—faith must precede reason," stated Augustine.

Note the optimism that reason will reveal more and more truth as time accumulates. Saint Thomas Aquinas (c. 1225-1274) attempted in his monumental *Summa Theologiae* to fulfill Augustine's optimism that some of these "matters of great importance" could be grasped by reason. Though humans lack sufficient intellect to see directly into the essence of things, he argued they may reason their way to knowledge step-by-step, using principles of logic. This is the methodology of science.

Centuries of meditation will produce no empirical knowledge, let alone science. But if religion inspires efforts to comprehend God's handiwork, science will arise as a "handmaiden" of theology. And that's precisely how not only the scholastic scientists but also those who took part in the great achievements of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries saw themselves—as pursuers of the secrets of the Creation. Charles Webster has summed up the consensus among recent historians of science: "Any truly historical account...must pay due attention to the deep interpenetration of scientific and religious ideas. It would seem perverse to deny religious motivation in the numerous cases where this was made explicit by the scientists themselves, often with painful emphasis. No direction of energy toward science was undertaken without the assurance of Christian conscience."

The great figures of the heyday of scientific discovery—including Descartes, Galileo, Newton, and Kepler—actively professed their absolute faith in a Creator God, whose work incorporated rational rules awaiting their discovery. Robert Boyle, the pioneering chemist, expended a considerable portion of his limited funds to have the Bible translated into various languages. Naturalist John Ray left Cambridge because he was unwilling on religious grounds to take the required oaths of loyalty to Charles II. Far from being a rejection of religion, the "Scientific Revolution" was led mostly by deeply religious men acting on religious motivations.

To sum up: The rise of science was not an extension of classical learning. It was the natural outgrowth of Christian doctrine: Nature exists because it was created by God. In order to love and honor God, it is necessary to fully appreciate the wonders of his handiwork. Moreover, because God is perfect, his handiwork functions in accord with immutable principles. By the full use of our God-given powers of reason and observation it ought to be possible to discover these principles. These crucial religious ideas were why the rise of science occurred in Christian Europe, not somewhere else.



From Voltaire and Thomas Hobbes through Carl Sagan and Richard Dawkins, false claims about religion and science have been used as weapons in the battle to "free" the human mind from the "fetters of faith."

The identification of the era beginning around 1600 as the "Enlightenment" is as inappropriate as the identification of the millennium before it as the "Dark Ages." And both imputations were made by the same people—intellectuals who wished to associate faith with darkness and secular humanism with light. One of the first steps in this effort was to designate their own era as the "Enlightenment," and to claim it a sudden and complete disjuncture with the past. Voltaire (1694-1778) described medieval Europe as hopelessly morassed in "decay and degeneracy." Rousseau (1712-1778) referred to a "relapse into barbarism" and "centuries...in a condition worse than ignorance." When Jacob Burckhardt popularized the idea of the "Renaissance" a hundred years later, the "Dark Ages" were an historical certitude, not to be shaken until late in the twentieth century.

It was not enough to blame the "Dark Ages" on Christianity; religion also had to be denied any credit for the rise of science. Hence, it was necessary to discredit the achievements of the scholastic era. One after another of the *philosophes* condemned Catholic scholarship until the word "scholastic" became an epithet—defined as "pedantic and dogmatic" according to any edition of Webster's.

With the past out of the way, David Hume, Voltaire, and their

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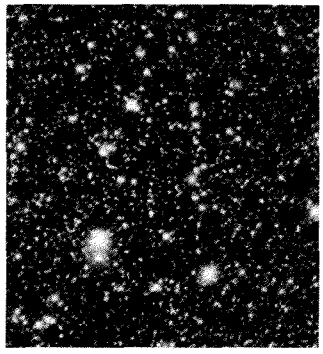

Through the centuries and right up to the present, scientists have remained about as religious as the rest of the population—and far more religious than academics in the arts and social sciences.

associates wrapped themselves in the achievements of science in order to authenticate their condemnation of religion. Their hope, in the words of Peter Gay, was that "science could [supply] the deists and atheists…with what they wanted—Newton's physics without Newton's God." In 1802, the French *philosophe* Claude-Henri de Saint-Simon (1760-1825) actually founded a Godless religion to be led by scientist-priests and called it the Religion of Newton. (His pupil Auguste Comte renamed it "sociology.")

As the "Enlightenment" became more outspokenly atheistic and more determined to establish the incompatibility of science and religion, Newton's actual religion became a difficulty. Newton's religious views were not in question. In 1713 he published an extensive essay of his ideas about God. Newton concluded that "the true God is a living, intelligent, powerful Being.... He governs all things, and knows all things that are done or can be done.... He endures forever, and is everywhere present.... As a blind man has no idea of colors, so have we no idea of the manner by which the all-wise God perceives and understands all things."

Moreover, Newton had written four letters explaining his theology to Richard Bentley during 1692 and 1693. In the "Bentley letters" Newton ridiculed the idea that the world could be explained in impersonal, mechanical terms. Having discovered the elegant lawfulness of things, Newton believed he had demonstrated once and for all the certainty of an intelligent, aware, omnipotent God behind all existence. Any other assumption, he wrote, is "inconsistent with my system."

The real Isaac Newton was the quintessential student of God's handiwork, believing not only in the existence of divine physical laws, but that similar divine laws governed history as well. Two centuries of efforts to depict Isaac Newton as having been much too sophisticated to believe in God were motivated by precisely the same biases as the false stories about Columbus, about Vesalius, about the "Dark Ages," about the "Enlightenment," and about the scholastics: that science stands in opposition to religion; that no important scientific work can be achieved or even fully understood by minds dominated by "superstition"; that the "Scientific Revolution" made it impossible for an intelligent person to be religious. These are the slogans of one of the longest-running and most effective polemical campaigns in Western history.

But while the campaign has had a very significant impact on the intellectual world in general—as seen in the makeup of college faculties, in literature and film, even in dictionaries—the crusade against religion seems not to have made much headway with scientists themselves.

During the nineteenth century, the relationship between theology and science grew nearly as close and creative as during the Middle Ages. While early science was stimulated by theology, now theology was in turn stimulated by the latest scientific discoveries. Christianity had always encouraged the assumption that immutable natural laws existed. Now the demonstrated precision of these laws was taken as evidence of the existence of God.

At this time, astronomical observatories were built in many cities across the United States, paid for by public fundraising campaigns organized by devout Christians who wished to make it possible for people to observe the wonders of God's handiwork. Leading astronomers were particularly popular lecturers in religious as well as scientific circles—if, in fact, it is possible to distinguish two such circles at this time. The rapidly growing system of American higher education, wherein most scientists were based, was itself almost entirely a religious creation, inspired by denominational competition.

It was not only theologians who were eager to unite religion and science; leading scientists undertook similar efforts. Louis Agassiz (1807-1873), among the most important geologists of the century and the first to hold an appointment at Harvard, combined brilliant fieldwork (including pioneering research on the Ice Age) with elegant arguments that biological classification systems were an effort to read "the mind of the Creator." Right up to the present moment, most scientists have seen no necessary conflict between science and religion.

Probably the first-ever survey of scientists was conducted by Francis Galton in 1872. Galton, who was Charles Darwin's cousin and one of the founders of quantitative psychology, mailed questionnaires to about 190 "English men of science." One of his inquiries asked: "Has the religion taught in your youth had any deterrent effect on the freedom of your researches?" When Charles Darwin filled out the questionnaire he simply responded "No." That answer greatly surprised Galton. A militant atheist, Galton had expected that nearly every respondent would answer "Yes." To his amazement, more than 90 of the 100 scientists who filled out his questionnaire answered "No" to the question of religion deterring research. To his dismay, Galton also discovered that almost every respondent claimed a church affiliation. Trying to explain away a result he disliked, Galton admitted that many respondents expressed strong religious views but insisted these scientists must surely be

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"careless of dogma and exempt from mysterious terror."

In 1914, the American psychologist James Leuba sent questionnaires to a random sample of people listed in *American Men of Science.* Each was asked to select one of the following statements "concerning belief in God."

1. I believe in a God to whom one may pray in the expectation of receiving an answer. By "answer," I mean more than the subjective, psychological effect of prayer.
2. I do not believe in God as defined above.
3. I have no definite belief regarding this question.

Leuba's standard for belief in God is so stringent it would exclude a substantial portion of "mainline" clergy, and that obviously was intentional on his part. He wanted to show that men of science were irreligious. To his great disappointment, Leuba found that 42 percent of his sample of prominent scientists selected option one, thereby taking a position many would regard as "fundamentalist." When Leuba's study was exactly repeated in 1996, the results were unchanged. Over an 82-year period, there was no decline among scientists in a very literal belief in God.

Religiosity of Scientists

scholarly field	% religious	% religious conservative	% no religion
hard sciences			
Mathematics/statistics	60	40	27
Physical sciences	55	34	27
Life sciences	55	36	29
social sciences			
Economics	50	26	30
Political science	51	18	30
Sociology	49	16	36
Psychology	33	12	48

Source: Carnegie Commission survey of 60,028 academics, 1969.

The most extensive evidence on the religious views of scientists comes from a massive survey of more than 60,000 professors (approximately one fourth of all the college faculty in America) conducted in 1969 by the Carnegie Commission. The survey centered on academic issues and political-social attitudes, but also included questions like: "How religious do you consider yourself?" "How often do you attend religious services?" "What is your present religion?" and "Do you consider yourself religiously conservative?"

The table above summarizes responses from scientists in various fields. Two rather striking findings challenge claims about the incompatibility of religion and science. First, levels of religiosity are relatively high. A majority of hard scientists think of themselves as deeply or moderately religious—only among social scientists (45 percent) is this a minority response. Nor do scientists restrict themselves to tepid faiths—close to four out of ten faculty members in the hard sciences characterized themselves as "religiously conservative." Moreover, scientists attend church at the same level of regularity as the general population—47 percent of mathematicians and statisticians reported attending services two or three times a month or more, as did 43 percent of physical scientists and 42 percent of professors in the life sciences.

The second striking finding is that social scientists are substantially less religious than those in harder sciences. This sheds a great deal of light on why it is so widely believed that religion and science are incompatible—after all, most of twentieth-century literature on this topic was written by social scientists.

The contrast between the social and the physical sciences is well-illustrated by an anecdote. In 1940, A. S. Yahuda, a Yale professor who acquired a collection of Newton's manuscripts, offered to show Newton's theological works to the eminent Harvard historian George Sarton. Sarton declined rather ungraciously on grounds that he was exclusively interested in science. But when Yahuda showed the manuscripts to Albert Einstein, the great physicist found them fascinating and wrote a letter in which he expressed his delight in entering Newton's "spiritual workshop."

Einstein himself was quite given to "God talk." In 1911, he told the Jewish philosopher Martin Buber that "What we [physicists] strive for is just to draw His lines after Him." In 1921, he told a young physicist "I want to know how God created this world.... I want to know His thoughts, the rest are details." Two remarks about God that Einstein made frequently became famous: "God is subtle, but he is not malicious," and "God does not play dice with the world."

Such expressions did not, and do not, raise eyebrows in the world of the physical and natural sciences. But any social scientist who talked that way would be stigmatized among her or his peers. That's probably why most sociologists of science follow Sarton's example. Not only are they not interested in Newton's or Einstein's God talk, they show little or no interest in the current revival of such talk in scientific circles.

On July 20, 1998, *Newsweek* proclaimed on its cover that "Science Finds God." Given the assumptions that have governed intellectual opinions about science and religion for most of the last century, the discovery that many sophisticated scientists think a Creator offers the most economical explanation of the world is now news of front-page magnitude. Yet, it was hardly an overnight development. A landmark in the resumption of serious dialogue between science and theology was Ian Barbour's 1966 book *Issues in Science and Religion.* Ever since, reputable efforts to link science and religion have attracted large readerships.

Efforts to demonstrate that God is a necessary element in any comprehensive explanation of the universe by scientists such as the Noble physics laureate Charles Townes and Royal Society of London member John Polkinghorne are entirely in keeping with a long tradition. It might even be said that these renewed links are a return to the normal relationship between theology and science. It was Einstein who counseled that "Science without religion is lame. Religion without science is blind."

I do not claim that scientists must include God within their cosmologies, or that nonbelievers can't do good science. But it is a fact that the origins of science lie in Christian theology. And it is clear that religion and science remain quite compatible today.

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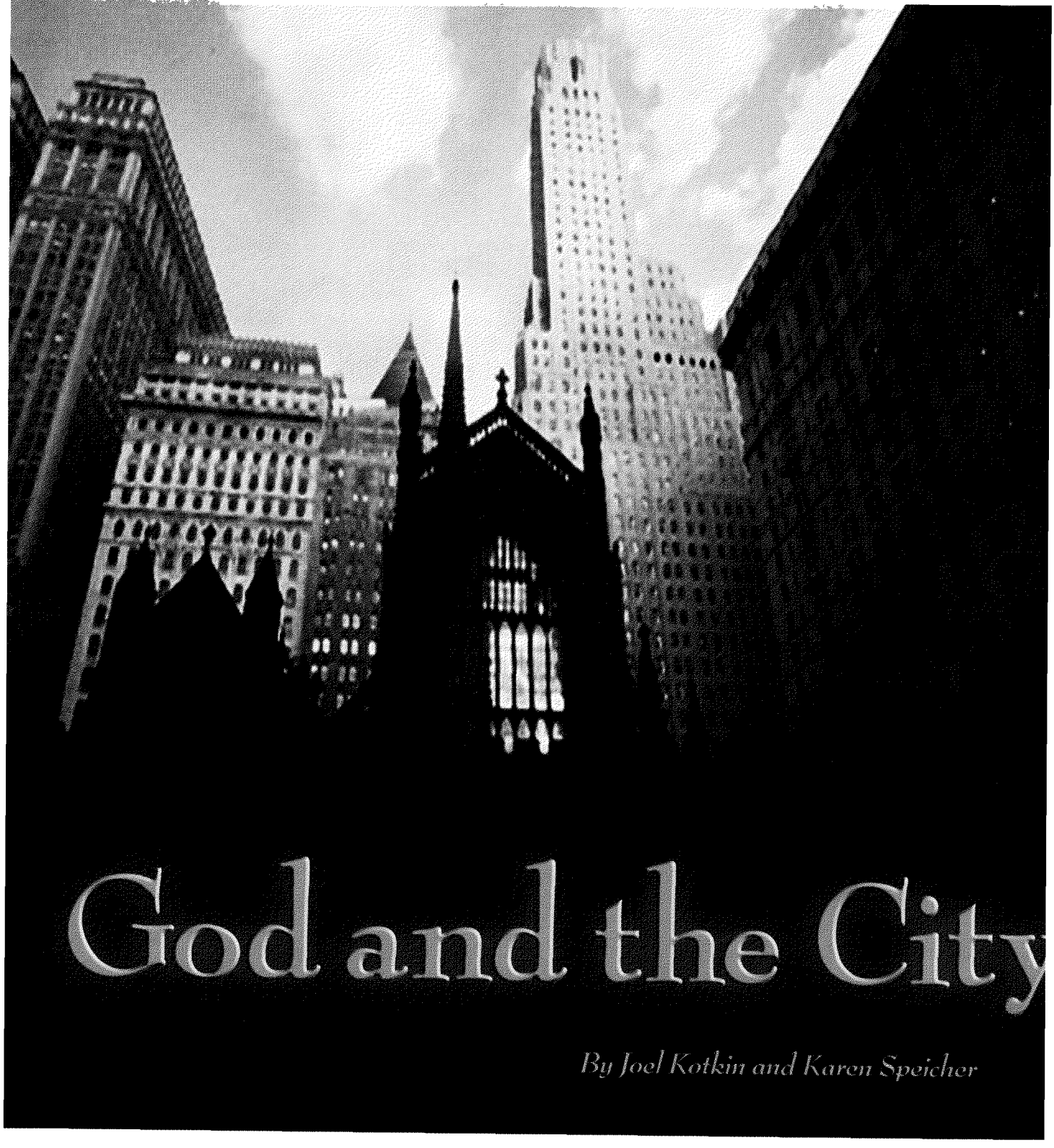

God and the City

By Joel Kotkin and Karen Speicher

Los Angeles may be better known for its flash and greed, but the greatest structure of its modern skyline—the new $200 million Lady of the Angels Cathedral—testifies to the power of a greater, and more enduring, urban ideal.

Up close against the concrete ribbon of the 101 Freeway, the cathedral, with its gardens and vast open courtyard, speaks to a great tradition of urbanism that is all too often forgotten in the contemporary age. Inside the cool brown walls, the feeling of sacredness is profound, with a large auditorium, numerous small chapels and a mural of Catholic saints and laymen establishing a strong link from distant church origins to the current day.

The 57,000 square foot structure, completed last fall, spans

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the urban present and past. It reflects our modern cultural mosaic, with different chapels available to L.A.'s myriad ethnic communities for worship in their own languages and traditions. It also speaks to a venerable tradition via its massive bronze doors, its baptismal pool, and an august cathedra (chair) for the cardinal, Roger Mahoney. By serving as the city's new focal point—hosting everything from performances of the Master Chorale to the swearing in of the city's new police chief—the structure serves as a symbol of what Alan Jones, dean of San Francisco's Grace Cathedral, calls the "new medievalism," where church and culture are tightly interwoven.

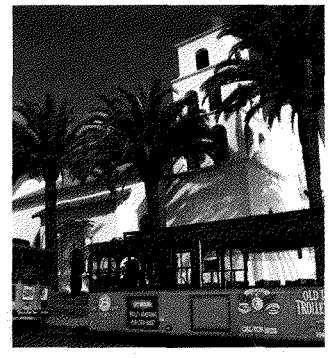
Nor is Lady of the Angels alone in reflecting the vigorous revival of this region's religious spirit. From Los Angeles county's suburban fringes to the predominately black and Latino wards of South Central, Southern California is experiencing a remarkable and exuberant expansion of churches, mosques, Buddhist temples, and synagogues, many of them designed to serve growing orthodox populations and new immigrants.

Amidst hard economic times that have slowed the construction of things like museums and office buildings, Los Angeles is witnessing a boom in new religious construction. The building program is remarkably varied, extending from the new 1,600-seat Korean Christian Presbyterian Church in suburban Porter Ranch, to the sprawling Hindu Temple in Malibu, to the Faithful Central Bible Church (which occupies the 17,000-seat site of The Forum, the one-time sports palace in Inglewood). According to one recent survey, there were over 400 more places of worship in greater Los Angeles in 2000 than had been there a decade earlier.

This expansion of religious building reflects a deeper, and more important, growth of faith-based activity throughout the region—demonstrated by a 24 percent increase in regional church membership during the 1990s, a rate of growth twice that of the region's overall population. In large swaths of urban America, church membership and religious attendance have been dropping for decades, a trend that now appears to be stabilizing. Not only in Los Angeles, but also in cities like Chicago, New York, and Miami, religious participation is actually on the rise at a faster pace than the national trend.

As befits a dynamic and changing society such as the United States, this urban religious renewal expresses itself in both highly traditional and fairly unconventional ways. Like the city itself, Los Angeles' religious revival is greatly dispersed and fragmented, more a blooming archipelago of worship than any well-organized, coordinated effort. In Los Angeles and many other heavily Hispanic cities there is both a burgeoning of the traditional Catholic faith of Spanish speakers (including a tendency toward a more conservative liturgy), and also a significant flow toward the more evangelical Protestant churches, which attract the formerly faithless and many previously Catholic or mainstream Protestant worshippers.

Though the Catholic Church has been the biggest beneficiary of the new immigrant-driven urban religious revival, the Church's recent sex scandals could prove damaging. National polls show a strong drop in the confidence of Americans in the Catholic Church—equal numbers of Catholics are dissatisfied and satisfied at present. Meanwhile, the credibility of Protestant churches seems to be only marginally dented by the scandal.



There were 400 more places of worship in greater Los Angeles in 2000 than had been there a decade earlier.

It would be too facile, however, to see in the current troubles the long-term demise of a church that, after all, has survived two millennia of periodic crises. The simple fact in Los Angeles is that Catholic church attendance is on the rise, in virtually all parishes.

As hunger for religious involvement grows among immigrants in our cities, many faiths are likely to grow with it. Catholics, evangelicals, Buddhists, Hindus, and Muslims will increasingly carve out space for religion in our urban centers. This will do much to challenge the ultra-secularist mentality that so dominates many of our contemporary urban elites.

The current religious renewal in cities is not purely a phenomenon of newcomers, however. There are also signs of growing religious engagement among some native-born urbanites. Among Jews in Los Angeles and elsewhere, for instance, we see increased rates of temple and synagogue affiliation, and a resurgence in Jewish schooling. This is seen among Reform and Conservative Jews, and especially among the Orthodox. According to recent studies at Hebrew Union College in Los Angeles, the presence of Jewish institutions is the main reason Jews are not deserting the urban core. Demographer Bruce Phillips says this is a major factor keeping Jews inside cities like Los Angeles and Houston.

Today's intensification of religious activity in cities represents a tremendous new asset in the evolution and potential renaissance of American urban life. In fact, it may be one of the most critical factors of all in keeping U.S. cities livable in the long run. Contrary to most urban histories, an examination of the evolution of cities finds that religion—although usually ignored in contemporary histories of urban development—has played a critical role in the development and health of cities since the first towns were constructed at the end of neolithic times.

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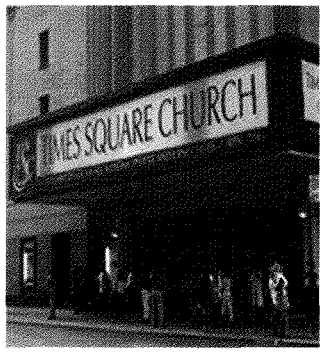

In recent years, scholars have ignored the role of religion in harmonizing people in the urban context.

The return of religious life to American cities represents a reversion toward age-old patterns. Both the landscape and the imagination of great cities have long been dominated by temples, pyramids, mosques, and cathedrals. Babylon's very name—*Babi-ilani*, "the gate of the gods," or place where the divinities were believed to have descended to earth—illustrates this. Teotihaucan, in ancient Mexico, was home to over a hundred temples along its main avenue. Jerusalem, Rome, Paris: These were religious centers. For both residents and sojourners who made pilgrimages to them, the religious functions of such places transformed them into "the center of the world."

The first primitive "skylines" were all formed by buildings celebrating divinities. The Mesopotamians envisioned their cities as essentially sacred places. The earliest Indian cities, constructed around 2,500 B.C. in the present Pakistani provinces of Sind and Punjab, produced monumental religious architecture at their core, as did the first urban conglomerations in China and the Americas. In all these cities, resident priests set the calendars and rules for people living in vast surrounding regions.

Many great cities still in existence today—Rome in the West, Cairo in the Islamic world, Beijing in China—have distinctly religious roots. Many of us don't think of the classical Romans, for example, as particularly religious, yet their attachment to their own unique city religion was critical to their successes. Even into imperial times, each Roman family maintained an altar in the house. Rome's core, noted Livy, was "impregnated by religion."

The Latin word *religio* (referring to the bond between man and God) came to signify a wider set of obligations to family and civic duty as well as to the gods, says historian F. E. Adcock. Roman law built on this concept with attempts to shape the behavior of citizens into conformity through deep common notions of personal and societal virtue, preferably through self-regulation. The basis of Western civil society was thus founded on religious obligations.

Over the long centuries of Roman domination, this ethos gradually eroded. The empire grew famously debauched, and its leadership class morally lax. The Christians who eventually replaced the pagans saw in decadent Rome "a city created for corruption of the human race." Saint Augustine portrayed Rome as the earthly city that "glories in itself," and whose own wickedness deserved punishment.

Yet when the empire finally fell, a victim of its own loss of faith, Rome's fate was salvaged by its new role as home of Gregory's Christian church. Later, the church would lay the foundations for the resurgence of urban growth in Rome and many other places. Look into the origins of Europe's great cities, noted historian Henri Pirenne, and you can see the influence of bishops who, through their very presence, preserved the dignity and commercial viability of places as diverse as Milan, Trier, York, and Vienna. It was the church's stability and sheltering influence that preserved urban spaces.

Modern notions of separation of church and society would have seemed inconceivable to residents of earlier cities. "The city," observed French philosopher Jacques Ellul, "is not just a collection of houses with ramparts, but also a spiritual power." Regimes and dynasties would come and go, but only catastrophic changes would sweep away the religious institutions.

In our own times, when structures linked to commerce and entertainment dominate city skylines, it seems that city leaders have sought to recreate the sense of sacred place in monumental museums, government buildings, and even sports stadiums. Yet somehow in our city-making and urban dreaming of the past century we have tended to ignore almost entirely the role of faith and moral order in harmonizing people in the urban context.

In recent decades, German theologian Karl Rahner has noted, religious people living in big cities have functioned something like the early semi-underground Christian colonies in places like Corinth or Alexandria, or Jewish communities scattered after the diaspora. Religious people in modern cities have often been made to feel the need to separate from, rather than integrate into, urban society.

This presents tremendous, and underappreciated, dangers for urban society. Earlier city cultures that lost their ethical underpinnings suffered serious breakdowns in social, political, and economic order. Without the presence of religious people in the mainstream of city life, today's metropolitan societies will also wither dramatically.

The utter failure of communist cities illustrates this. Places like Moscow, East Berlin, Pyongyang, and Beijing, where only nineteenth-century ideals of scientific process were worshipped, became drab and lifeless locales, full of desperate and depressed people. Or consider today's Western European cities, most of which are now in a different sort of deep decline. The cities of France, Germany, England, Holland—home to so many of the world's great churches and congregational innovations in times past—are now headed in the opposite direction from rebounding U.S. cities, and being plagued with lawlessness, addiction, barren families, crime, ennui, economic stultifi-

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cation, and loss of hope. This is occurring at the same time that religious belief and influence has collapsed. In France, barely 6 percent of Catholics now go to mass; religious life in Protestant countries is similarly in eclipse. Church attendance is around a third that of levels in the United States.

Few intellectuals see, or admit, any of these links. In today's university and research settings, most urban researchers have embraced either the mathematical materialism of the rationalist school or, worse, the openly anti-religious (or at least anti-Judeo-Christian) perspective of the post-modernists. These scholars are far more likely to present neo-Marxist explanations of urban dysfunction than to consider religious influences. Even in acclaimed works like Tony Hiss' *The Experience of Place*, one finds loving treatment of parks, apartment houses, office buildings, and train stations, but little mention of places of worship as influences on city life.

Some scholars have observed more carefully. Harvard University's Robert Putnam has noted the connection between a decline of religious practice and a decline of civil society. He links this to broader social trends, including the weakening of scores of other institutions like clubs and associations that help make community life livable. Yet even Putnam has little noticed or commented on the current upsurge of religion, and its transformative potential. Even as one of the more sensible and sensitive intellectuals focusing on "civic engagement," he, like others, is much more focused on political influences and solutions and "public policy" than on deep influences on personal behavior like religiosity.

But a religious upsurge will bring significant secondary developments in its wake. One promising trend is the unexpected recent rise in marriage rates. Another is the fact that Americans, contrary to popular notions, are becoming less rootless than in previous generations. Even sociologists with a blind spot for religion will eventually find it hard to ignore these sorts of shifts.

In the United States, and even more in Western Europe, the last few decades have brought a steady, often state-enforced separation of religion from public life. Even from precincts where it has lent salutary effects for millennia, religion has been banished. There are, however, now tiny hints of recognition even in unexpected quarters that this effort has been wrong-headed. Cities should not be opposed to religious activity, argues theologian James Dougherty, they are in many ways the very best "matrix" for the exercise of religious faith.

Of course, religious expression in a vast and non-sectarian nation such as the United States will show many faces. But today's urban communities desperately need religious activism. And increasingly they are getting it.

Perhaps the most critical work is being done by churches in hard-pressed inner-city communities, where traditional faiths from Baptist to Catholic have been joined by fast-growing evangelical and non-sectarian groups in re-establishing the historic connection between Christian mission work and city streets. In cities like Chicago, Indianapolis, Philadelphia, and Boston, grassroots church-led programs have made a big difference in city life through crime-suppression programs, anti-addiction efforts, soup kitchens, job training programs, health care efforts, and parental counseling. [For an inspirational profile on one man who runs a faith-based program in Denver, see "Rocky Mountain Sheriff" in our October/November 2002 issue.]

A clash between liberal elites and religious immigrants may prove the greatest challenge for the new religious upsurge in American cities.

In New York City, religious organizations now provide some $3 billion a year in social services, making critical contributions to urban life. Without the network of religious schools in New York City, many middle class families could not or would not stay another day in the metro area. "Life in New York," suggests author Anthony Stevens-Arroyo, "would not be livable without the efforts of the religiously committed."

Or look at the Penn-Lucy section of Baltimore. In a city known for its strictly racially segregated neighborhoods, Penn-Lucy's non-denominational Faith Christian Fellowship is a remarkably mixed congregation, equally divided between black and white worshippers, with a sprinkling of Asians. Pastor Craig Garriott conducts the services, his sermons interrupted by brisk affirmations from the pews. Inside the old brick church there is a remarkable sense of fellowship and purpose. It's a spirit that is sorely needed in Penn-Lucy and adjacent neighborhoods on the western outskirts of Baltimore. At a time when crime has dropped in most cities, this area has long been plagued by violence. Property values remain depressed, as both black and white middle-class families sell their homes in hopes of a better life in the suburbs.

For Garriott, who grew up in the rolling hills of suburban Baltimore County, reversing this flow to once again root middle-class people in the city is one critical mission of the church. "Nobody likes poverty and crime, and if you have the option to go somewhere else you do it, whether you are white or African American," he says. "Our vision is to create a context where folks can continue to stay here, to make this a place that people do not want to leave."

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Without religious people in the mainstream of city life, today's metropolitan societies will wither.

The Fellowship and its 200 members make strong contributions by offering a series of vocational, recreational, and family counseling services, as well as a school with 85 students. The school stresses values as well as academics, and charges "needs-based" tuition, with the church and local businesses making up the difference. With graduation rates in city public schools hovering at only around 50 percent, Garriott sees creating an educational alternative as critical to retaining middle-class families in his neighborhood.

Although seemingly small, efforts such as those by this single church may prove more important to the fate of Penn-Lucy, and (mirrored in other places) the city itself, than the billions of dollars that have gone into downtown redevelopment to promote Baltimore as a tourist destination. None of Baltimore's much-ballyhooed de-velopments, Garriott points out, have prevented the city's residential neighborhoods from slowly dying, as their best families and businesses leak away.

The key to reversing urban decline, Garriott suggests, is to first and foremost rekindle the spirit of involvement and human connectedness. "God created us as social creatures, with a need for faith and love and social relationships. We are not just machines creating things for consumption. We are physical, emotional beings," he explains. "The whole question of creating community is paramount today. We live in such a fragmented society. To preserve a city or neighborhood, you need to create places, institutions where people can be called by their first names and feel safe to relate." Which is something churches do better than most any other urban organization.

Ever since our country's founding, churches have been critical to the integration of immigrant masses, particularly for those coming from rural settings to America's large cities. The role of the Catholic Church in socializing earlier waves of Irish, Polish, and Italian immigrants was both profound and long-lasting.

Today, many of our newcomers are not European but come from Latin America or Asia. Yet the critical role of faith in creating a new identity for immigrants remains. In Houston, where Asian settlement is extensive, there are now 30 Chinese Christian churches and five Buddhist temples. On Bowne Street in Flushing, New York, home to a famous

Case History:
The De-Moralization of Baltimore

By Eli Lehrer

A casual observer might believe Baltimore a city in the midst of an urban renaissance: A waterfront mall full of restaurants and shops, two new sports stadiums, some lively ethnic neighborhoods, and a bevy of new hotels give the city a patina of prosperity. Beneath the surface, however, something has gone seriously wrong in what local boosters call "Charm City." In the 1990s, Baltimore lost over a tenth of its population—nearly as many people as live in Hartford, Connecticut, and a bigger loss (in absolute numbers) than suffered by any other American metropolitan center. Alone among America's 50 largest cities, Baltimore saw its rate of population loss accelerate in the 1990s. Even as other American cities were becoming safer, crime rose in Baltimore: Among the nation's 25 largest cities only fast-growing Phoenix experienced as fast a rise in crime.

Many of the city's deep problems stem from its vast rates of drug addiction: Nearly one in ten adults in the city is a drug user, by far the highest rate of any city in the country. "The drug problem in Baltimore is just incredible, almost impossible for a lot of people, even long-time police officers, to comprehend," says Gary McLhinney, a former narcotics lieutenant in Baltimore. Heroin use in particular is enormous in Baltimore. Even in the lively Little Italy neighborhood, a tourist mecca, a visitor might see addicts shooting up in the corner of a parking garage. Methamphetamine, which remains largely a drug used by poor whites in the South and West, has become increasingly popular among Baltimore's inner-city black population.

Part of the problem in Baltimore is that it missed the pro-business, deregulatory, tough-management message that sunk in in so many other cities over the last two decades. The city has long had corruption problems. And "Baltimore is about the only major city where the political culture is still centered around getting money from Washington," summarizes Fred Siegel, a fellow at the Progressive Policy Institute in Washington.

But cities like Chicago and Providence dealt with higher levels of corruption and misgovernance, and actually gained population and vitality in the 1990s. Baltimore's deep problems seem to have a moral component that has made them harder to reverse.

It appears that one huge negative influence was former long-time mayor Kurt Schmoke's morally neutral attitude toward drugs. In a profile in the *Yale Alumni Magazine*, Schmoke called for "a more balanced program that looks at addiction as a disease,

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Quaker meeting house from the Dutch times, there are now ten places of worship, including a Hindu temple, a Sikh gurdwara, a mosque, Jewish synagogues, and Korean and Chinese Christian churches.

These institutions play many of the same roles as those of early-twentieth-century Catholic churches. Their main work is social integration, blending cultural identities and building the elements of good citizenship among the young. Pan-religious links have also connected these immigrant worshippers with native-born faithful. As has occurred many times in history, faith is helping bind people of radically differing pasts into one unified society.

In many cases, immigrants are choosing a new faith, and instead of just deferring to habit are helping construct lively institutions that meet their own religious aspirations and needs. In such popular immigrant destinations as Los Angeles, New York, and Chicago, the most rapidly growing faiths are charismatic and other evangelical Christian churches. As one Korean church member told researchers Helen Ebaugh and Janet Chavetz, "We built this church with our own hands… with cardboard, nails, and hammers. We came after work and stayed until two or three in the morning." This is not likely to lead to rote or dissipated religious practice, but rather to energetic worship and activism.

As they flood what are generally more conservative churches, immigrants will gradually both "de-Europeanize" Christianity and also move it away from the more liberal tendencies, theologically and socially, of the mainstream clergy of recent decades. The Church on the Way in Van Nuys, in the San Fernando Valley, once was identified with the culture of Anglo Californians from the "Dust Bowl" states. Today the church, which can accommodate over 2,000 people at its chapel, provides services and outreach programs not only in Spanish, but in Cambodian, Bulgarian, and Farsi as well.

As the new urban faith communities grow, they will eventually find themselves face to face with the left-leaning secular reality of most urban political environments. Attempts to promote religion-based social services face stiff opposition from the unionized providers who control many city councils around the country. Entrenched gay and ethnic-identity groups, not to mention some wealthy developers, may not welcome the introduction of a new middle-class and traditional- and spiritual-minded bloc in what has recently been their exclusive playground.

Ultimately, this culture clash may prove the greatest challenge for the new religious upsurge in American cities. Liberals will no doubt shout about separation of church and state, but ultimately, clergy, concerned citizens, and some political leaders will fight to protect the potent grassroots efforts to repair our urban social fabric that are springing out of our houses of worship. If America's cities are to thrive in this century, faith will have to be more than just a set of words or beliefs; it will need to be expressed in action on the streets where people live.

not just a crime." To Schmoke "the war on drugs should be primarily a public health war, rather than a criminal justice war." He funded programs to give clean needles to heroin addicts (which had the side effect of destroying streetscapes around needle distribution centers), and ordered police to simply ignore "non-violent" dealers.

Schmoke frequently claimed that marijuana is safer than tobacco, (though smoking a cigarette has never caused anyone to crash a car, and doesn't lower I.Q.s). While Schmoke denies he supports out-and-out drug legalization, the effect of his policies was *de facto* legalization within Baltimore. Writing in *National Review* in 1996, he even called on the government "to control the price, distribution, and purity of addictive drugs," thus, in effect, encouraging their use.

The mayor called his approach utilitarian. Baltimorians—particularly poor ones who live in drug-ridden neighborhoods—called it a disaster. The book *The Corner* by David Simon and Edward Burns (later made into an HBO miniseries) vividly describes just how bad life became in a typical inner-city neighborhood when value judgments against drug use and crime were suspended.

Police say the laissez-faire morality of city leaders led directly to Baltimore's out-of-control drug and crime problems.

Police leaders say this laissez-faire morality led directly to the city's out-of-control crime problems. "With a mayor in city hall who was saying that drugs didn't really matter, you had terrible morale for the cops on the streets," says Edmund Norris, who became police chief shortly after Schmoke left office. "Nothing was going right; the city just didn't have the leadership it needed on the top." Norris, working with Mayor Martin O'Malley, recently cracked down on drugs, sent a special squad to round up crime fugitives, and in three years presided over a 35 percent crime drop, during a time when crime was level in most other big cities.

Mayor O'Malley speaks out forcefully against drugs and relentlessly promotes the city under the slogan "Baltimore: Believe." With immoral and anti-social behavior now re-stigmatized, Baltimore may finally be on a road to recovery. Drug addiction has dropped a bit in most surveys. And residential telephone connections (a reasonable surrogate for population growth) have begun to grow for the first time in years. About ten years behind other major cities, Baltimore may finally make a comeback.

Eli Lehrer is a TAE *associate editor.*

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State Budgets Are in Crisis
From California to New York

Guess Who's to Blame?

By Kevin Hassett

A revolution is brewing in California, sparked by an annual state budget that is a stunning $38 billion out of balance. States like Connecticut, New Jersey, New York, and Oregon face similar, though lesser, fiscal crises. What has happened to state budgets in these places? And who is to blame?

Democratic Party officials have tried hard to "nationalize" this problem, and have received assistance in this regard from much of the national media. If you listen to the Democrats' line of argument, today's state fiscal crisis was caused by cold-hearted Republicans who choose tax cuts over "adequate" funding of "essential" state programs. Without prospect of federal help (thanks to George Bush's tax cutting parsimony), state taxes must now be increased to support "necessary" services. And if taxes are not increased fast enough, terrible cuts in spending must also be contemplated. This is not only cruel to the "vulnerable" but also puts the entire economy at risk. The negative drag from state spending cuts may hurl us into another recession, the *New York Times* argued recently.

This may sound plausible enough. But almost nothing about it is true.

The California story is actually quite straightforward. During the 1990s boom years, Governor Gray Davis found his state revenues surging along with the stock market. He responded by jacking up government spending almost 40 percent. When the stock market and economy softened, revenues were no longer sufficient to maintain that sharply higher level of spending. The gigantic fiscal crisis that ensued created a media frenzy and an historic vote on recalling the governor.

As for the idea that state spending is being slashed—it's true that legislators in many places are having to tighten their belts—but it is only huge *planned increases* that are being cut. Even after all of this year's "cuts," state government spending will be 2 percent higher in the current fiscal year than it was in the previous year. If total spending is still rising, how can Democratic National Committee chairman Terry McAuliffe and the *New York Times* claim this is going to drag down our economy? Could politics be involved?

Budget Busters
Ten states with worst deficits

state	budget deficit per capita	2000 vote
California	$985	D
Connecticut	679	D
New Jersey	664	D
New York	626	D
Oregon	615	D
Massachusetts	568	D
Minnesota	542	D
Wisconsin	436	D
Maine	400	D
Delaware	372	D

Source: Sean Gupta, AEI

To help uncover whether today's state budget crisis is more attributable to "irresponsible Republican tax cuts" or "irresponsible Democratic spending," I recently analyzed individual state budgets in light of those states' political complexion. I began by dividing the states into those that voted for President Bush, which I labeled as predominantly Republican, and those that voted for Al Gore, which I designated Democratic.

Separated out that way, the state budget data tell a striking story. Though the total population of Bush and Gore states are almost identical, the states that voted Democratic account for *fully 70 percent* of today's state deficits; Republican states ring up only 30 percent of the total. And of the ten states with the largest per capita budget deficits *every single one* voted Democratic in the last election. (Alaska, which finances its government from oil revenues rather than taxes on its citizens, was excluded from my analysis.)

What does this suggest? It suggests that Republican economic policies, particularly the taste for tax cuts, cannot fairly be blamed for putting states in economic peril. It suggests that Democratic economic policies, particularly the tendency to increase spending, are the major force behind today's imbalances.

The more one studies the state data, the clearer this becomes. Consider that in the top ten deficit states (again: all Democratic) tax revenues increased at the dramatic rate of about 5 percent per year over the last decade. With all that revenue growth, why did those states build up deficits? Because spending was allowed to grow even faster.

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In contrast, in the ten states that are most fiscally sound today, tax revenues grew only 1.5 percent per year over the previous decade. How could such "anemic" tax flows yield economic health? Through careful spending control.

The differences between the healthy states and the sick states are striking, and belie all the *New York Times*-style truisms about what lies behind state fiscal health. Consider that the average tax revenue per person in today's sickest ten states was $2,445 in the last data available—compared to only $1,923 per person in the ten healthiest states. This blasts out of the water the idea that states get sick because they have been starved of revenue; indeed it shows the opposite.

One could hardly attribute today's state deficit problems to "reckless tax cutting." If anything has been reckless, it is spending. Democratic elected officials in particular seem to have shown too little regard for taxpayers' money. Taxes have increased, but spending has increased more, and citizens are waking up to find themselves heavily burdened and in debt. The result is another taxpayer revolt in California, and perhaps in other staunchly Democratic states. Whatever their rhetoric, the record shows that Democrats are still the party of spending.

Republicans are not invulnerable to a spending backlash, though. During the last national taxpayer revolt in the early 1980s, Ronald Reagan increased defense spending but cut non-defense spending sharply. President George W. Bush, on the other hand, has increased spending on just about everything. Three of the five biggest increases in federal spending in U.S. history occurred during President Bush's first three years in office (the other two took place during World War II). This spending surge can't simply be written off to the war on terror. Spending in the Department of Education, for instance, is 60 percent higher than it was when President Bush took office. And if the prescription drug plan favored by the President is enacted into law, Republicans will have made Gray Davis look parsimonious by comparison.

If the lesson from the states is that voters grow angry when governments spend far beyond their means, then federal officials should take notice. Politicians who spend with the same enthusiasm as Gray Davis may eventually experience the same treatment at the hands of taxpayers.

It's the Spending, Stupid

From a special analysis by USA Today *titled "Bad Moves, Not Economy, Behind Busted State Budgets," published June 23, 2003:*

The financial problems racking many state governments this year have less to do with the weak national economy than with the ability of governors and legislators to manage money wisely.

That is the key finding of a *USA Today* analysis of how the 50 states spend, tax, and balance their budgets—or don't.

The National Governors Association says states are suffering their worst economic crisis since World War II. But for many states, the analysis shows, the fault is largely their own.

Some states that have enjoyed handsome growth in tax revenue nonetheless have huge budget shortfalls. At the other extreme, some of the best-managed states suffered sharp declines in tax collections but promptly took painful steps to balance their books…. The key to their success: restraint….

California, the worst-performing state in the analysis, did the opposite. It approved huge spending increases…. When the economy soured, the state began borrowing money and using accounting gimmicks to avoid its day of reckoning. Today, it continues to spend $1 billion a month more than it takes in….

Many states have raised college tuition, cigarette taxes, and other narrowly targeted fees. Six states have increased sales and income tax rates, and several more may do so this week.

But one thing has remained constant throughout the crisis: State spending keeps growing. It went up 6.3 percent for the fiscal year that ended June 30, 2002, and it's on track to rise about 5 percent in the 12 months ending June 30, 2003.

The number of people on Medicaid, which pays for health care and nursing homes for the poor, remains at a near-record 40 million. That number is up 30 percent since 1998, the result of efforts to sign up people who qualify. And despite anecdotal reports of layoffs—Oregon furloughed 130 state troopers, for example—state governments have added 74,000 workers (an increase of 1.5 percent) in the past two years….

Other key findings:

Spending growth during the boom years haunts some states today. State spending was 38 percent higher in 2002 than in 1997—$983 billion vs. $710 billion. That was 18 percentage points higher than inflation and population growth combined during the period. [Fueling] the expansion in state budgets: education, health care for the poor…. On the other hand, states that were frugal during the boom are generally in the best shape today….

Economic historian Richard Vedder says the public has signaled how much government it wants. State and local spending has accounted for roughly 11 or 12 percent of gross domestic product for the past 30 years. Last year, state and local spending reached 13 percent of gross domestic product, the highest since record-keeping began in 1929.

—Dennis Cauchon

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Magic Bullet

Here's a Long-term Way to Fix State and Local Budget Deficits

By Lewis Andrews

With a significant number of states in serious budget trouble, the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities has estimated state deficits for fiscal year 2004 at up to $85 billion. Town and city governments are also struggling with out-of-whack budgets. Many are responding by raising taxes: In 2002, the latest year for which data are available, property taxes rose an average of 10 percent nationally. Even with this added revenue, a recent survey by the National League of Cities found that 75 percent of municipal finance officers believe their own governments will not be able to cover costs this year.

In attempts to cope with these budget problems, one important contributing factor has been ignored: the exploding costs of public education. A comparison of the costs of public schooling versus private schooling suggests how much our current state schooling may needlessly inflate the cost of local government. According to the National Center for Education Statistics, per pupil spending in religious and independent schools averages $4,600, versus $6,857 in public schools. The real difference is actually higher (for reasons I'll explain) but even this conservative $2,257 figure, multiplied by the number of American public school students (47.6 million), implies that there may be more than $100 billion in unnecessary spending for public schools. Reduce that, and the state and local budget deficits evaporate. *There would be no budget crisis* were public schools operating with the same efficiency as private schools.

Public education's huge role in America's fiscal woes would be easier to accept if there were positive results to show for the spending. But much of the extra funds sloshing through public schools is simply wasted. Only half the people on the District of Columbia public school payroll are teachers. Fully 40 percent of per pupil spending in California goes to bureaucracy. Nationwide, public schools spend more than twice what other industrialized countries spend on administrators.

Per pupil expenditures within public schools have increased 23 percent over the last two decades. Yet standardized test scores of students are lower than they were in 1977. Though government spending on public education is now higher in the U.S. than in any other developed country, American middle and high school students ranked last in mathematics and science in the most recent International Assessment of Education Progress.

Spending more is not helping our children. The only cure for America's education stall, many reformers now say, is to give parents more control over the public funds allocated for the education of their children. That way they can shift their children away from failing schools and into successful ones. Making public schools compete for students leads to overall academic improvement, studies by Harvard professor Paul Peterson and others show.

One point that has been missed up to now, however, is that school choice is more than just an educational innovation. It also has the potential to make education spending much more efficient, and thus to help reduce state and local budget pressures. Competition lowers the number of dollars needed to achieve good academic results.

Helping more parents obtain private education for their children could not only improve U.S. schooling, but also save large amounts of taxpayer money. In some public school districts, annual per pupil costs run five to ten times the cost of a local parochial school. Teachers' unions are well aware of these price advantages, and ferociously oppose any efforts to take advantage of them. As a defensive measure, the American Federation of Teachers has launched a campaign to discredit the financial appeal of school choice. But objective comparisons of public verses private school expenditures are available from the National Center for Education Statistics, and they show that all but a very few elite private schools have expenses far below those of American public schools. More importantly, the graduates of private schools *at all tuition levels* score consistently higher on objective achievement tests and go on to college in significantly higher numbers.

The $100-plus billion difference between public school and private school costs is only a starting point for possible budget savings from market-based reform of our educational system. Businesses, foundations, and wealthy individuals in the private sector have shown a great willingness to supplement education costs when convinced that their contributions will be well spent.

Lewis Andrews is executive director of the Yankee Institute for Public Policy in Hartford, Connecticut.

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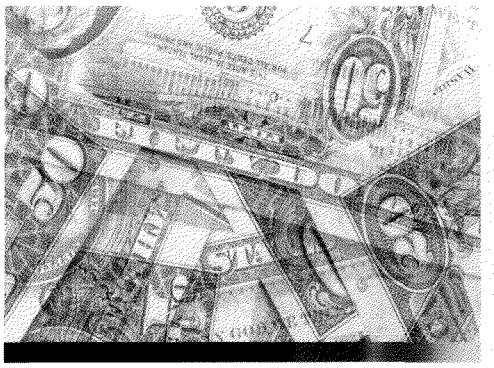

Fully 40 percent of per pupil spending in California goes to bureaucracy.

Consider Arizona, where a modest income tax credit to people who contribute to scholarship funds for private schooling has already enabled more than 18,000 students to attend non-public schools. Not long ago this same spirit of generosity was directed at public education, but the disillusionment among donors who've tried to "help the public schools" is now so widespread that three foundations (funded by the Heinz and Rubbermaid family fortunes) have taken the extraordinary step of withdrawing pledges.

Even when businesses are offered tax credits for their support of private schooling, taxpayers come out far ahead. Arizona's Goldwater Institute has calculated that a tax credit sufficient to induce businesses to fund 20,000 new scholarships at private schools would produce a net annual saving to taxpayers of at least $50 million, after the lost tax revenues were deducted from the saved public school expenditures. A 2001 study from the Heartland Institute found that a similar proposal made by then-gubernatorial candidate Brett Schundler would have netted the state of New Jersey nearly half a billion dollars.

A second way in which choice would contribute to the health of state and municipal budgets is by drastically reducing the need for expensive new school construction. Because public schools operate within inflexible districts, even slight increases in enrollments can trigger space crises, and declines can quickly lead to inefficient use of overlarge facilities. Constellations of individual private and religious schools that accept applicants from overlapping boundaries, can handle enrollment fluctuations much more flexibly.

In the fall of 2002, the school board in the small Connecticut town of Redding began discussing the need for school expansion to accommodate 800 to 1,000 additional students over the coming decade. A local taxpayers' group, Nonpartisan Action for a Better Redding, decided to calculate what the town could save over 20 years if, instead of borrowing money to add more space to the schools, it simply offered a sufficient number of private school scholarships to keep the public school headcount constant. The astonishing answer was *over $90 millions dollars* — this in a town with little commercial real estate to tax, and just over 4,000 homeowners to make good on the school bonds.

The research of economist Thomas Nechyba at Duke University (see *TAE*'s July/August 2002 issue, page 13; and April/May 2003 issue, page 34) suggests a third way in which choice could reduce state and municipal deficits. Nechyba points out that under our current system of financing public education, there is a strong connection between the perceived quality of public schools and local property values. The better the school in a given area, the higher the local home prices. Conversely, when local schools are seen as declining, the price of area housing tends to follow. School choice, Nechyba notes, would "sever the link between school quality and residential location"—thus opening up a much wider range of housing locales to families, and reducing housing costs.

This could have several intriguing consequences for state and local budgets. For one thing, it would help states and cities revitalize decaying urban areas. Families willing to homestead could simply be offered a subsidy for private education. Since the tuition of many urban private and parochial schools is less than a third of the per pupil cost at area public schools, savings could be dramatic while children thrived and neighborhoods improved.

This could rescue property values in many blighted or declining areas. In 1997, economists William Bogart and Brian Cromwell compared home prices in an area of Cleveland where some children were permitted to attend highly rated schools in suburban Shaker Heights. They found that the opportunity for a family's children to switch to superior schools added between $5,303 and $11,648 to the value of a city home. Cities would thus enjoy greater property tax revenues without raising rates. In addition, there would be less need for expensive, and often fruitless, spending aimed at fostering urban renewal. Ohio's Buckeye Institute analyzed 92 programs in its state's education budget and found nearly two dozen that could be eliminated or downsized (with a net savings of $380 million) if a "school choice" approach to development were adopted in each of Ohio's major urban centers.

The final fiscal benefit of school choice is the hardest to quantify, but probably the most significant. I'm referring to the reduction in social costs due to fewer wasted lives among children who flounder in today's urban public schools. Leon Botstein, president of Bard College, has long argued that many cases of youthful misconduct are a reaction to an obsolete educational system. "The greatest damage is wreaked upon the average and lower-than-average student," he writes. Sadly, the design of public education has for so long put the convenience of administrators and teachers above the needs of students that public schools have developed almost no new methods of reaching today's disengaged youth.

We now read daily about states reducing health coverage, releasing prisoners early, and raising taxes to cope with budget gaps. A better way lies right before us: A shift toward public funding of privately run education could solve many budget woes. As a wonderful side effect it would dramatically improve the life prospects of millions of American children, children who are currently locked in schools that are both absurdly expensive and unconscionably bad.

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New York's Republican Stumble

How Governor George Pataki Fed, Rather Than Fought, Government Bloat

By George Marlin

When George Pataki was swept into office in 1994, conservatives throughout New York rejoiced. Not only had they helped knock off liberal icon Mario Cuomo, but after 32 years in the political wilderness the New York Conservative Party had provided the margin of victory that fulfilled their mission to elect a governor who was not a legatee of Nelson Rockefeller/Jacob Javits/John Lindsay-style liberal, big-government Republicanism.

During his 15 years as New York governor, Rockefeller earned the distinction of having requested more tax increases—fully 18!—than any governor in state history. Rocky created a massive state bureaucracy consisting of over 200 agencies, authorities, and commissions that left behind billions in debt. Under the spell of Rockefeller's political will (and his checkbook) for 15 years, New York's Republican Party found itself in 1974 with no money and no electoral talent. As a result, Republicans were rejected at the ballot box in the next five gubernatorial elections, and eventually ended up at the mercy of Mario Cuomo, whose more than decade-long tenure at the state's helm left New York hemorrhaging economically.

In the wake of the Cuomo fiscal mess, Republican and Conservative Party leaders agreed in 1994 to join together to find a candidate capable of blocking a fourth Cuomo term. Heading the search committee were Senator Al D'Amato and Conservative Party chairman Mike Long. They agreed to go with an unknown state senator from Peekskill named George Pataki. In embracing Pataki, Long reasoned that: "He voted against taxes, and (even though his people hate when I bring this up) he had a perfect right-to-life voting record."

With this united backing behind him, Pataki easily beat challenger Rockefeller Republican Richard Rosenbaum in the September primary, and went on to upset the world-weary Hamlet of the Hudson Mario Cuomo in November. So when Pataki was inaugurated in January 1995, conservatives had great expectations. They were delighted when the new governor signed a death penalty bill, cut taxes, spending, and regulations, and even pursued privatization initiatives.

But before long one could sense a change in attitude, particularly among the governor's gatekeepers. Pataki's original financial backers, conservatives motivated by principle, were unceremoniously cut out of the loop. Political apparatchiks concluded that it would be easier for an incumbent Pataki to win reelection if he traded contracts and access for campaign support than if he cast his lot with "ideologues" demanding fiscal restraint.

In 1997, Pataki abandoned his own version of a "read my lips" pledge: that he would end New York City's ruinous rent control. He simply capitulated when polls showed his popularity plummeting among Manhattanites who had never voted for, and had no intention of *ever* voting for, a Republican. That same year, Pataki supported a $2.4 billion education bond act to further finance a corrupt and incompetent School Construction Authority that on one occasion spent $300,000 to build a wheelchair ramp under a basketball hoop. Thank heavens the voters had the good sense to reject the bond act. The following year the Pataki administration reversed its long-standing opposition to the largest takeover of a private corporation by a state government in America's history: the $7 billion Long Island Lighting Company appropriation.

As he tightened his embrace of government activism, Pataki abandoned other bedrock principles:

- His pledge to curb Medicaid costs.
- The fight to end unfunded state mandates on local municipalities.
- Promises to avoid one-shot fiscal gimmicks.
- The campaign to stop "back door borrowing" and enact true debt reform. (As a result of this capitulation the total debt burden on future New Yorkers has grown 40 percent since Cuomo left office.)
- His pledge to impose no new taxes, which ended in 1999 with a $400 million cigarette tax hike, and hit a new low in 2003 with raises of almost every conceivable tax and fee.
- The effort to seek state labor productivity gains.

George Marlin, former executive director of the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey, is the author of Fighting the Good Fight: A History of the New York Conservative Party.

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Photographer Showcase/Newscom.com

Pataki receives praise from portions of the press casting about for a Republican they hope might move the party left.

• Republican opposition to the Clinton administration's "dredge it down to bedrock" policy that is forcing General Electric to eliminate PCBs from the Hudson River. (A decision driven by politics rather than environmental science, which is now costing G.E., a major New York employer, hundreds of millions of dollars and scaring away potential investors in the state economy.)

• And his promise to pass budgets on time and thus save municipalities millions in funding delays.

In short, Governor Pataki completely discarded the principles of fiscal restraint. Since 1998, state budget expenditures have jumped more than 30 percent. Spending has increased at twice the inflation rate, resulting in record-breaking structural deficits.

In the aftermath of the 9/11 tragedy, instead of warning New Yorkers that fiscal restraint was required because the days of wine and roses were over, Pataki increased spending in his election-year budget by four times the inflation rate. The spending frenzy was funded with $4 billion in "non-recurring revenues" and raids on state rainy-day funds. A June 2002 *New Republic* cover story titled "How George Pataki Became a Liberal" explained that these increased expenditures were a critical part of Pataki's campaign strategy. Specifically, the governor "cut deals with traditionally Democratic unions, whose leaders will endorse—and whose members will vote for—whichever politician satisfies their demands for higher wages and benefits. Pataki and the state have paid handsomely—hence the escalating state budgets of the last few years."

In an attempt to escape blame for the financial mess his policies created, Pataki moved to the right after his re-election and made a show of preaching the virtues of fiscal conservatism. But his actions when the chips were down didn't measure up to his rhetoric. Pataki's proposed 2003-2004 budget called for expenditures to decline only one tenth of 1 percent, leaving a projected $7 billion revenue shortfall which he planned to fill with $6 billion in one-shot revenues and $1.3 billion in fee and tax increases. His budget was packed with fiscal gimmicks that merely postponed the day of reckoning.

When the state legislature eventually passed an even more profligate budget that actually increased spending and included a state income tax increase, Pataki vetoed the measure. But the governor failed to use the full weight of his office to block this grossly irresponsible budget. To spruce up his national image at a time when he was openly plumping as a national candidate for Vice President or other high office, Pataki gave some showy speeches denouncing the legislature's tax increases. But he twisted no arms (as Nelson Rockefeller often had), and his veto was overwhelmingly overridden—including by every single senator of his own party.

So, sadly, New York Republican leaders have once again abdicated their role as guardians of taxpayer interests. As oppressive taxes rise again, industries and people will once more be forced to relocate. This will in turn cause tax receipts to decline, and build pressure for even higher rates. Here lies the vicious cycle that California is now tasting.

There's more. During the past six years, Pataki also managed to renounce his conservative base on social and cultural issues. The administration has embraced "hate-crime" legislation and domestic partner benefits pushed by homosexual groups, and the governor created a special class of citizens when he signed the state's Gay Rights Law. Pataki went along with legislation that repealed a "conscience clause" on state abortion services, thus forcing religious medical institutions to violate their commitment to sanctity of human life. And in 2000 he called for the repeal of the right-to-life plank in the national GOP's platform.

The last Republican Presidential candidate to carry the Empire State was Ronald Reagan. He succeeded in spite of the fact that he proudly ran on a platform that was pro-life and devoted to traditional family life. Reagan did not fear the ridicule of Manhattan's fashionable salons—he had the confidence and character to defend transcendent values. George Pataki and his adjutants in New York's Republican Party, on the other hand, have—in a desperate desire to be all things to all people—squandered the historic opportunity entrusted to them in 1994. By abandoning their fiscal and cultural principles, they betrayed the coalition of upstate and suburban conservatives and inner-city blue-collar ethnics who elected them.

What are the practical results of their appeasement strategy? In 1998, a Democrat replaced a Republican as state attorney general. Democrat Chuck Schumer ended the senatorial career of Al D'Amato; Hillary Clinton obliterated her Republican opponent in 2000. Pataki himself was re-elected in the 2002 gubernatorial race with an unimpressive 49 percent of the vote against a lackluster opponent.

Despite these failures, Pataki continues to receive praise from portions of the press casting about for a Republican who they hope might continue to "grow" (i.e., move left) and become nationally influential. Shades of Christine Todd Whitman, another liberal Republican whose fawning press far outran her appeal to voters. Governor Whitman fell under the media-created spell sufficiently to convince herself she had a shot at the Republican Vice Presidential nomination in 1996. Pataki ,too, has periodically been swept up in such fantasies. In 2000, he briefly considered himself Presidential timber, and he persists in fancying that he might be the next Veep or Secretary of Some-

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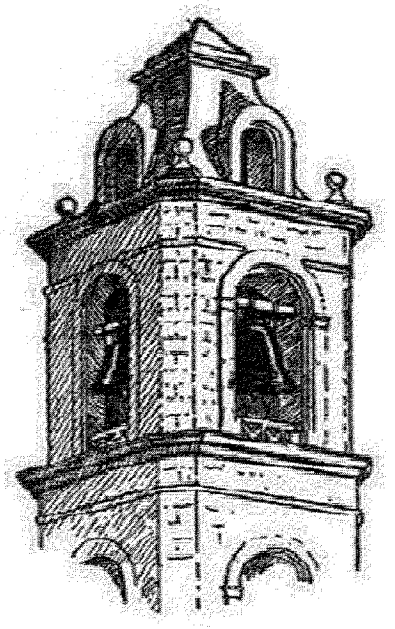
What, Me, a Radical?



By William Pike

DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA—One day last year when Catholic neo-conservative Father Richard John Neuhaus came to speak at Duke University, I overheard a divinity school professor in the hall talking to a colleague who planned to attend the lecture. "You'd better bring some rotten tomatoes," she said. "The people from *First Things*—they're bad, they're just bad. They're unapologetically capitalist."

This view of capitalism as evil and incompatible with faith is the norm today in many college seminaries. Capitalism is seen as the corrupter of the world (which was a sort of Eden before grubby businessmen started fumbling in their tills). America is viewed as the heartland of capitalist evil.

Future ministers are also taught that patriotic songs like "God Bless America" are anathema to Christianity, that religion blended with nationalism is always undesirable. Flags in sanctuaries are deemed "idolatrous." Even Thanksgiving is viewed skeptically, for its supposed links to the genocide of American Indians. In the religious ivory towers, absurd, extreme views like these are the rule.

The societal orthodoxy under which I was raised was founded on patriotism, fear of God, respect for the past, and personal responsibility. The attitudes that prevail among academic elites today draw on different principles: Shame of country, ambivalence toward God, disdain for the past, and complete individual license. These are no longer fringe bohemian views; they are part of the conventional wisdom, truisms of the powerful.

And there are now numerous ideas that cannot be mentioned on college campuses without causing anger and agitation. Take a positive view of American history in most classrooms today and you enter a verbal firestorm. Call for individual accountability for one's own actions, and you will be branded heartless. Criticize "alternative lifestyles" and, well, you know what happens.

Almost every professor will play any game possible in order to increase his or her own salary. Graduates and undergraduates want to make as much money as they can. Yet when I describe myself as a capitalist in class, students wince, or they grin with the assumption that I am joking. The word capitalism itself is now proscribed in polite conversation as a remnant of a "colonial" and "insensitive" past.

"Social justice" is all the rage in seminaries these days. Contemporary theologians love to talk about it, though not one in ten can provide any reasonable definition of what it means. They just know that it's a sacred concept that demands unquestioning allegiance.

When I began to realize that such P.C. groupthink is a new orthodoxy used to govern the way people speak and act and think, I actually became hopeful. I can now sit back and chuckle and anticipate the day when this new status quo will come under assault.

For that's what college kids do: They rebel. They reject. And when the kindergarten icons of social justice, and anti-capitalism, and all the rest of today's official niceness get smashed, it is quite possible that the new thinkers challenging the consensus will be people like me who defend the free market, advocate individual responsibility, and scoff at sloganeering geezer liberals among the professorate. Some of us will even wear American flag pins on our backpacks.

The truth is, orthodoxies, which often seem so firm, are in fact cyclical. In another generation, Duke and similar institutions are likely to be changed in many subtle and obvious ways as part of a tidal swing. This exhilarates me. For when orthodox liberalism becomes a target of free-thinkers, it has nowhere to go but down.

Meanwhile, I am no longer an embattled defender; I am an innovator, a radical, attempting to restore something which a previous generation—now gray of hair, long of tooth, and intellectually exhausted—stripped away. That's kind of exciting.

William Pike recently completed his studies in the Master of Divinity program at Duke University.

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Flashback

To know nothing of what happened before you were born is to remain ever a child—Cicero

O Say Can You Sing?

By Bill Kauffman

When Francis Scott Key, a poetical lawyer, rendered in verse his account of American resistance to the September 1814 British assault on Fort McHenry, he saddled his stirring lines with the lumpish title "The Defence of Fort McHenry." He quickly changed this to "The Star-Spangled Banner," which a Baltimore musician set to the tune of "To Anacreon in Heaven," an English tavern song. Within a fortnight, patriots far and wide were singing of dawn's early light, twilight's last gleaming, and the rockets' red glare—the poetry of the pre-game show.

History, as usual, smirked. As Irvin Molotsky noted in his book on the anthem, Key had opposed the War of 1812. Moreover, Key's grandson, pro-Confederate Baltimore editor Frank Key Howard, would be imprisoned for treason in Fort McHenry in September 1861.

We might think of the eventual designation of Key's poem as the national anthem as a case of Congressional constituent service run amuck. "The Star-Spangled Banner" was one of two pet causes of Maryland Democrat J. Charles Linthicum. (The other was the repeal of Prohibition.) Linthicum took up the issue during World War I after the importuning of an eccentric Baltimore matron named Ella Virginia Houck Holloway, described by the *Baltimore Sun* as "an imposing figure [who] always appeared in public wearing a tall shako, a cylindrical beaver hat with plume, that rose a foot above her head."

Mrs. Holloway's ardor for the flag made her charmingly daft or a damned nuisance. She patrolled the streets of Baltimore, ever on the *qui vive* for violations of flag etiquette. If her portfolio was modest—chairwoman of the Committee on the Correct Use of the Flag of the United States Daughters of the War of 1812—her energy was boundless.

Rep. Linthicum pressed on. The United States needed an official anthem, or so he declared, and it had better have been written in Maryland. He brushed aside the numerous criticisms lodged against the "Banner": that it was beyond the range of shower-stall singers; that its imagery was militaristic, and thus unsuited for a peaceable nation; that it was Anglophobic (in the third stanza, the mother country tracks in "foul footsteps' pollution"); that it was Anglo-philic, borrowing as it does an English tune; that the music of a "ponderous old English booze-song" was inappropriate since the Prohibition Amendment had banished the demon rum from sea to teetotaling sea; and that imposing an official song on Americans went far beyond the legitimate powers of the federal government.

Just why we needed a single national anthem was a mystery never quite explained by the Banner's supporters. In an exchange on the House floor during the anthem debate, skeptical Rep. Hatton William Sumners (D-TX) remarked, "I have never been so sure and I am becoming less sure of the wisdom of undertaking to give direction to the drift of public opinion by legislation rather than have that drift come up naturally." Rep. Sumners wondered if "the idea of a government guardianship of the people everywhere and all the time may not be involved here," but he was reassured by Rep. Emanuel Celler (D-NY) that "people want this song."

"There is nothing to keep them from singing it," shot back Sumners. But the Key fit. Impressed by the 5 million signatures the Veterans of Foreign Wars claimed to have acquired in support of "The Star-Spangled Banner," the House and Senate finally approved Linthicum's measure, and President Hoover signed the national anthem into law on March 3, 1931. The Great Depression did not lift, and partisans of the banner's rivals were furious. Its chief rival, "America the Beautiful," had been written by Wellesley professor Katharine Lee Bates, a Cape Cod native who was inspired by an 1893 trip to the summit of Pike's Peak.

Her words, later joined to a melody by Newark church organist Samuel Augustus Ward, have lost none of their power due to Congressional inaction.

If "The Star-Spangled Banner" lacks the beauty of Bates's "America," the soul of Woody Guthrie's "This Land is Your Land," or even the nursery-rhyme sweetness of "My Country 'Tis of Thee," at least our national anthem isn't Irving Berlin's numbingly bland "God Bless America" or the truly execrable schlock-country number "God Bless the USA." And perhaps it does us good, at public occasions, to ask anew Key's question:

O say, does that star-spangled banner yet wave

O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave?

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the Farm Subsidy Economist

Farm Subsidies Are Harm Subsidies

By J. Bishop Grewell

Agriculture is one of the most interfered-with industries on earth. Across the world, government subsidies wreak havoc with farm economies. Though we haven't made much progress in eliminating the payments, this concept is increasingly understood by Americans. What's less appreciated is that subsidies also cause environmental problems. By encouraging the cultivation of unneeded marginal land, overuse of scarce environmental resources, and increased use of chemicals, farm subsidies harm the ecosystem as well as consumers and even farmers.

Thanks to U.S. price supports, agricultural economist Del Gardner notes, "land has been cultivated…that would have remained in rangeland and forests, especially in the southern region and in the semi-arid and arid regions of the Great Plains and Rocky Mountains." "Aided by government farm programs," writes John Hosemann, retired chief economist of the American Farm Bureau, "farmers clearcut and drained large tracts of forestland, particularly in the Mississippi River delta region but also in the mid-Atlantic states." In the Florida Everglades, over half a million acres of swamplands have been converted to sugar fields to take advantage of government subsidies.

Subsidies also lead to increased use of chemical inputs. In a study of six farming states, Jonathan Tolman found that eliminating subsidies would reduce fertilizer use by 29 percent. In the North Carolina coastal plain, elimination of subsidies could reduce water pollution from nitrogen leaching by 46 percent, according to researchers Kathleen Painter and Douglas Young.

Even when subsidies are tailored for supposed environmental benefits, they often end up doing more ecological harm than good. Consider two of the main "Green" endeavors paid for by the U.S. government—ethanol production and the Conservation Reserve Program. Both demonstrate how the unintended consequences of market manipulations can do damage despite the best of intentions.

Ethanol

One of the most egregious agricultural subsidies in the U.S. today underwrites the production of ethanol—a gasoline substitute made from corn. While purporting to help the environment, it actually has the opposite effect.

The ethanol program provides a bonanza for corn-producing states such as Iowa and South Dakota. Powerful senators and Iowa's importance to Presidential nominations have garnered these regions a subsidy equivalent to 54 cents per gallon of ethanol produced. The vast majority of the money goes to one agribusiness: Archer Daniels Midland, which produces 60 percent of the nation's ethanol and receives in excess of $400 million per year from the federal treasury in doing so.

One might overlook these costs if ethanol actually did what its proponents claim (reducing air pollution while providing domestically produced energy). But ethanol is no boon. Cornell researchers David and Marcia Pimentel report that ethanol is actually an environmental nuisance when all aspects of its production are taken into account: "Ethanol produced from corn causes environmental degradation from increased soil erosion and aquifer mining, from soil, water, and air pollution, and from increased emissions of global-warming gases." But according to the General Accounting Office, "little change in air quality or global environmental quality" would result if ethanol subsidies were ended.

The Environmental Protection Agency and the California Air Resources Board made similar claims after conducting studies on a possible exemption for California from 1990 Clean Air Act requirements that oxygenates be added to gasoline in regions that failed to meet the federal air quality standards for smog. (Ethanol had become the only oxygenate choice after groundwater was polluted from use of its lone competitor, MTBE. But other researchers found that ethanol actually increases the evaporation rate of gasoline, which leads to pollutants that increase smog. And 14 of the EPA's 18 own most realistic models showed smog would decline if California was freed from the ethanol requirement.

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Smog and its components, the EPA has reported, pose a greater threat to humans than the one thing ethanol does reduce: carbon monoxide. Though quite dangerous without ventilation, carbon monoxide is relatively benign outdoors.

The most perverse aspect of subsidized ethanol production was uncovered by David Pimentel. He calculates that it actually consumes more energy to produce a gallon of ethanol than the ethanol itself provides. While a 2002 report from the Department of Agriculture claims that increased corn yields have converted ethanol from a net energy waste to a net energy gain, Pimentel's 2003 study maintains that ethanol uses 29 percent more energy than it creates due to tractor fuel, irrigation pumps, and other inputs. According to Pimentel, 99,119 BTUs of energy are expended to create the 77,000 BTUs in a gallon of ethanol. In other words, the government is keeping farmers busy by paying them to waste energy.

The ethanol support program was started with good intentions. It does reduce carbon monoxide emissions, and the problems with evaporation were not known when the country first started ethanol subsidies in the late 1970s. But with our current knowledge, it would be best if the program went the way of the dodo.

The Conservation Reserve Program

The CRP is another agricultural subsidy that both wastes money and creates environmental harm. Implemented in 1985, the CRP pays farmers to take cropland out of production. The primary goal was to protect lands prone to erosion by setting them aside and not plowing them. Additional goals—improved water quality, better wildlife habitat, and the return of native grasses—were later added to build support for the program among environmentalists and hunters.

CRP payments are made on a per-acre basis. In 1996, farmers were paid about $50 per acre not to farm. Total payments that year reached $1.8 billion, and 36 million acres were removed from production, an area the size of Michigan. Annual costs have held at about that level since then.

The problem with CRP is that it does not accomplish anything. Farmers have kept food production at about the same level as before the program. They've done this in two ways:

First, previously uncropped land is brought into production to counterbalance the retired acres. A University of Minnesota geographer conducted a five-year study on CRP's progress in removing land from production on the Great Plains during the early 1990s and found that while farmers received payments to remove 17 million acres from production, total cultivated land in the region fell by only 2 million acres. The geographer concluded that "for every eroding acre a farmer idles, another farmer—or sometimes the same one—simply plows up nearly as much additional erosion-prone land."

Second, farming is intensified on the lands already in production. Additional fertilizer and pesticides are heaped upon crops to get a higher yield to make up for the land lost to CRP. Whether the net result is more or less overall chemical use is hard to say, but it is clear that the *concentration* of chemicals increases on land remaining in production, which is probably a greater threat to human and animal health.

A popular argument in defense of farm subsidies is that they make agricultural products more affordable for consumers. But do they? Keep in mind that if subsidies were eliminated, the average consumer would have more money in his or her pocket with which to buy food in the first place. In the year 2000, taxpayers made $20 billion in direct payments to farmers; that's $80 for every man, woman, and child in the country. It's hardly evident that prices would rise by more than that without subsidies.

In the short run, a removal of subsidies would cause producers to produce less, and prices would rise. But, over the longer term, there are several reasons to think prices would return to current levels rather rapidly. For one thing, subsidies are often implemented in the form of price floors. The government buys up excess output to keep prices for certain products from falling below agreed levels. By definition, these particular subsidies prevent lower prices.

Second, today's agricultural subsidies create an entry barrier for new farmers or ranchers who might be able to do the job better. Most subsidies go only to those who are already in the farming game, because they are based on previous years' production. By keeping newcomers out, and less efficient producers limping along, subsidies prevent competition. In addition, the future value of subsidy flows gets "capitalized" in higher land prices. The General Accounting Office reports that younger people wishing to enter agriculture today are frequently discouraged by high prices for farmland due to subsidies.

Finally, agricultural subsidies are a major obstacle to reducing trade barriers (the trimming of which could lower a plethora of agricultural prices). U.S. subsidies lead other countries to close their doors to our exports, and to keep their own inefficient producers in business in a subsidized state. This increases food prices not only for U.S. consumers but also for consumers in other countries. Worse, because farm protectionism opens the door to protectionism generally, countless other goods become more expensive as well.

Farm subsidies thus turn out to be something rather perverse: not good for the environment, not good for farmers, and not good for consumers.

Adapted from J. Bishop Grewell's new book Ecological Agrarian, *co-written with Clay Landry. It was researched at PERC, the Center for Free Market Environmentalism.*

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Making 'Em Like They Used To

By Josh Larsen

The old adage "they don't make 'em like they used to" has been especially apt at the movies these past few months.

How else to respond to 1938's *The Adventures of Robin Hood*, starring Errol Flynn as the legendary, honorable bandit? A restored print of that classic has been making its way through revival theaters across the country, while a DVD version will be released for the first time on September 30. Far newer, though no less old-fashioned, is Kevin Costner's latest directorial effort, *Open Range*, a Western that—aside from a contemporary dose of violence—could have been released in 1938. Together, the two films provide a glimpse of the glorious past and a hope for Hollywood's future.

When a movie is beloved over the course of 65 years, each generation has its own way of discovering it. My initial viewing of *Robin Hood* came as a boy on a Sunday afternoon, during my family's weekly ritual of watching the television movie series "Family Classics." *Captain Blood*, *The Swiss Family Robinson*, and other films were part of the series, but none had the allure of *The Adventures of Robin Hood*, with its puckish Merry Men, its dastardly Prince John, and its playful, acrobatic Robin—the ultimate boyhood hero.

Seeing it again as an adult, the movie is far more naive than I remembered. Yet it adheres to its ingenuousness with a sincere devotion that, today, feels like bravery. If the Merry Men laugh a bit too heartily, if Prince John sneers a bit too frequently, and if Robin remains completely unaware of his skintight green leggings—so what? No modern movie would have the guts to embrace the guilelessness of its source material so completely.

To watch *The Adventures of Robin Hood* again is to don a suit of armor against the cynicism and irony of our modern world. As Roger Ebert wrote in the August 17 *Chicago Sun-Times*, "this great 1938 film exists in an eternal summer of bravery and romance. We require no Freudian subtext, no revisionist analysis." *The Adventures of Robin Hood* is what it is, and it is great. An early example of the Technicolor process, the picture bursts with colors that are nowhere near natural, but just right for a mythic tale such as this. The trees of Sherwood Forest seem to be dripping with green paint, while the vibrant flags of the kingdom are explosions of primary colors. The restored print and DVD revive the movie's hues with a vivacity that hasn't been seen in years.

Equally electric is the movie's casting. Of course there is Flynn, whose performance as Robin inspires Prince John to describe him as a "saucy fellow." When Robin crashes Prince John's feast with a deer slung over his shoulder—well aware that killing one of the king's deer means execution—it is one of the landmark movie entrances. And then comes his exit: As the doors are locked and the guards close in, Robin fights and somersaults his way out of the castle, never once losing his impish smile.

Errol Flynn swashes bucklers in *The Adventures of Robin Hood.*

Surrounding Flynn are some of classic Hollywood's most talented actors. Claude Rains toys with a lethal lisp as Prince John, while Basil Rathbone faces off against Flynn as Sir Guy for one of the movie's most thrilling sword fights. Among Robin's Merry Men are Eugene Pallette as Friar Tuck, and Alan Hale as Little John, both recruited for their comic skills first and their fighting abilities second. Then, of course, there is the radiant Olivia de Havilland as Maid Marian, the skeptical damsel who is first intrigued by Robin's bravura but finally won by his decent heart.

It sounds passé, doesn't it, to tell a story in which the hero is nothing but noble and still manages to triumph in the end? These days, most movie protagonists are tortuously conflicted. Character shading is a legitimate dramatic device, but *The Adventures of Robin Hood* harks back to a time when straight heroics were possible.

Today's movies could use a few more

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inspiring Robin Hoods. During that final fight between Robin and Sir Guy, the camera pans away to capture their shadows in combat. It's an exhilarating moment, and a fitting reminder that *The Adventures of Robin Hood* casts a shadow that most modern movies have been unable to equal.

One new film that pulls genuine heroism back toward the spotlight is *Open Range*. What is remarkable isn't that Costner's traditional Western is so good. After all, his respectful nostalgia could be seen in earlier efforts ranging from *Silverado* to *Field of Dreams.* The amazing aspect of *Open Range*'s release has been establishment Hollywood's bitter resistance to it. Who would have thought a drawling cowpoke tale could be so threatening?

The movie's "drawl"—a running time of over two hours—is one of its strengths. Derisive of the sort of split-second filmmaking that dominates contemporary action movies, Costner isn't afraid to linger over pastoral images of men enjoying hard labor. Costner and co-star Robert Duvall play cattle-drivers, and a good chunk of the movie is devoted to such activities as rounding up horses, huddling under tents during downpours, and digging wagons out of the mud.

Charley Waite (Costner) and Boss Spearman (Duvall) are "free-grazers" in 1880s America, meaning they're part of a fading generation of professional cowboys who roam the land. When they encounter a vindictive rancher who murders one of their hands and threatens to steal their cattle in order to chase them away, these veterans must decide whether to run or make a stand. As Boss says, "cows is one thing, but one man telling another man where he can go in this country is something else."

Craig Storper's screenplay, based on actual-cowboy-turned-author Lauran Paine's 1990 novel, lays out a familiar story. The good guys are spotted at first glance, while the bad guys sneer with a vigor that would impress Prince John. When they meet for the inevitable showdown, the plot has coalesced into a classic case of righteous revenge.

Kevin Costner and Robert Duvall stand up for right in *Open Range*.

What makes *Open Range* so enjoyable is the respect that Costner brings to the story. Rather than undermining the basic themes of good and evil with irony, or convoluting them with a revisionist approach, the actor-director slowly, surely, spins his yarn, confident of its inherent worth and truth.

While Costner's Charley is the sort of conflicted character Robin Hood never encountered—a veteran of the Civil War with a murderous past that this current conflict threatens to unleash—Duvall's Boss is a hero for all ages. Stout in his beliefs, resolute in his actions, Boss knows what's right and is willing to risk his life to do it. His face-off with the evil rancher (Michael Gambon) is a *tour de force* of stubborn integrity, made all the more gritty by Duvall's advanced age.

Upon its release, *Open Range* received mainly favorable reviews, but the majority of these came from mid-level critics. The self-appointed guardians of American culture—both high (the *New York Times*) and pop (*Rolling Stone*)—sharpened their carving knives, eager to cut up Costner for being a throwback. In his review on *Rolling Stone*'s Web site, Peter Travers declared that "Costner's kind of insufferable nobility is unforgivable." A. O. Scott, writing for the *Times*, pounced with equal fervor: "Costner's relentless, root-canal humorlessness turns what might have been an enjoyable B-picture throwback into a ponderous drag."

For a traditional picture to be dismissed by the likes of Travers and Scott is predictable. For it to elicit this level of venom, however, is revealing. For critics who guard their hipness and intellectualism with a desperate sense of paranoia, any manner of film is acceptable save an earnest one. A movie that talks straight and simple and follows a moral code—an *Adventures of Robin Hood* or an *Open Range*—is the enemy most to be feared and derided.

Sincerity isn't much in evidence in our movies today. Our comedies are deeply cynical satires rather than frothy farces. Our adventures nihilistic explosions, not joyful escapades.

But suddenly our Westerns are back on an age-old track. Thanks to *Open Range*.

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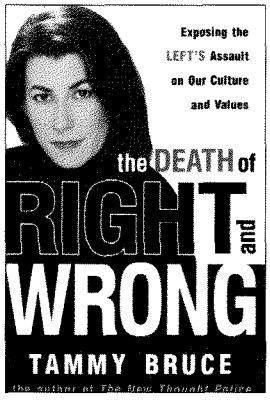
BookTalk

NO SENSE OF RIGHT ON THE LEFT

By Daniel Flynn

The Death of Right and Wrong: Exposing the Left's Assault on Our Culture and Values
By Tammy Bruce
Prima, 352 pages, $25.95



Political skirmishes among adversaries are rough, but the roughest battles are normally reserved for former friends who've become skeptics. It's the heretic who is more likely than the heathen to get burned at the stake.

"I hope his wife feeds him lots of eggs and butter and he dies early like many black men do, of heart disease," commentator Julianne Malveaux once said of fellow black American Clarence Thomas. "He is an absolutely reprehensible person." Feminists deemed Republican Kay Bailey Hutchison a "female impersonator" when she first ran for the Senate. Tammy Bruce, author of *The Death of Right and Wrong*, is currently experiencing a bit of the same treatment for bucking groupthink.

A lesbian and former president of the Los Angeles chapter of the National Organization for Women, Bruce has turned a critical eye toward former allies. The result has been a form of ideological excommunication for Bruce, and two very popular books—*The New Thought Police* and *The Death of Right and Wrong*—for her readers.

Bruce's lesbianism grants her immunity to the slur words that normally disarm even mild critics of sexual anarchism. Her homosexuality has the paradoxical effect of allowing a refreshingly candid appraisal of many undesirable aspects of alternative lifestyles.

She bluntly states that "the gay community is full of men who are sexual compulsives, having hundreds of sex partners a year while spreading an incurable disease." Bruce is similarly scornful of the inclusion of "transgendered" individuals in calls for societal endorsement at gay pride parades. "In my opinion any man who thinks simply having his penis removed, having breast implants, and taking hormones turns him into a woman needs to be in a psychiatrist's office, not in a parade," she opines. Bruce again parts company with the gay lobby on their drive to force the Boy Scouts to deputize homosexual men to lead fledgling scouts. She asks, "wouldn't your red flag go up if a man was desperate to be a Girl Scout leader?"

Just as Bruce's criticism of homosexual excess hasn't led to a reorientation of her lifestyle, her biting analysis of the current state of feminism hasn't sparked her to drop the feminist label for herself. But her insider's critique of the women's movement is every bit as scathing as Phyllis Schlafly's or Dr. Laura's.

Two reasons noted by Bruce for her reassessment of the women's movement include the deafening silence of many feminists to the O. J. Simpson case and the hypocrisy exhibited by most liberal women's organizations in reaction to the myriad allegations against Bill Clinton. In both instances, the perpetrator was an inconvenient villain for feminists. What mattered to the activists was not the principle involved but the political gain to be had. Since Democrat Bill Clinton wasn't Republican Bob Packwood, and African American O. J. Simpson wasn't white guy Claus von Bulow, normally pugnacious feminists abstained from the ensuing brawls.

Bruce also points to unseemly political grandstanding by the National Organization for Women as a reason for her estrangement from her former comrades. Postpartum depression, cited by murderer Andrea Yates as a defense for killing her five children, is one such issue trumpeted by NOW. While NOW bemoaned the lack of attention paid to postpartum depression, their former L.A.-branch president uncovered this soap-boxing as the pot calling the kettle black. "If one can rely on the organization's own Web site, prior to the Yates murders, NOW had done nothing on the issue," writes Bruce. "Not only is there nothing about the issue prior to the murders, there's nothing about it after Yates's sentencing either. It's as though postpartum depression magically popped up and then went away."

Bruce occasionally falls into the same sloppiness that plagues her adversaries. The book's opening pages covering the Mumia Abu-Jamal murder case, for

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instance, contain numerous errors—though none, it should be noted, that are central to her argument.

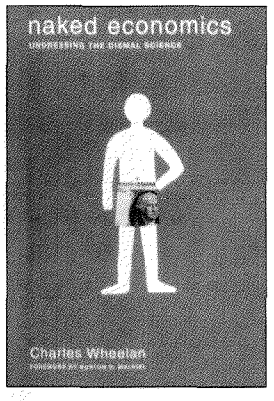
While such passages could have been written with more care, Tammy Bruce is too clever and courageous a writer to ignore. Her fly-on-the-wall account of the Left offers insights one would be hard pressed to find elsewhere. Most noteworthy is her discussion of why so few who enter the Left's victim cult escape as she has. "When your victimhood is your empowerment, recovery is the enemy," Bruce concludes, "and working on 'individual change' becomes counterproductive, even dangerous to your identity."

Daniel J. Flynn is the author of Why the Left Hates America: Exposing the Lies That Have Exposed Our Nation's Greatness.

ECONOMICS LAID BARE

By Aaron Steelman

Naked Economics: Undressing the Dismal Science
By Charles Wheelan
W. W. Norton, 288 pages, $25.95



When I tell people I work in the Federal Reserve System, they often joke, "Great. Can you print me some money?" And then comes the serious part: "I don't really know much about economics. It seems like a foreign language to me."

This is unfortunate, but understandable. Economics has become highly mathematical. Even Milton Friedman, whose work did much to establish economics as a "positive science," admits that he has trouble keeping up with the increasingly quantitative literature. In an interview with *Reason* magazine, he described the new techniques as "all different from ours. I'm not an expert in them anymore; I really couldn't deal with this material on the level on which they are dealing with it, although I can understand the thrust of what they're doing."

Mathematical techniques have helped us understand the world in a way that would not have been possible otherwise. But it must be remembered that statistical manipulation is not at the heart of economics—a point Charles Wheelan makes in *Naked Economics: Undressing the Dismal Science*. "I offer only one promise in this book: There will be no graphs, no charts, and no equations. These tools have their place in economics," he writes. "But at bottom, the most important ideas in economics are intuitive. They derive their power from bringing logic and rigor to bear on everyday problems."

Wheelan does an especially good job of explaining the most fundamental idea in all of economics: Resources are limited and people try to make the most of what they have. Writing in the sometimes-cheeky style of *The Economist*, where he used to work as the magazine's midwest correspondent, Wheelan notes, "However large our paychecks, we can spend them on a staggering array of goods and services. When you bought this book, you implicitly decided not to spend that money somewhere else. (Even if you shoplifted the book, you could have stuffed a Scott Turow novel in your jacket instead, which is flattering in its own kind of way.)"

But money is not our only resource, Wheelan points out. Just as important, if not more so, is our time. "At the moment, you are reading instead of working, playing with the dog, applying to law school, shopping for groceries, or having sex. Life is about tradeoffs, and so is economics."

Wheelan makes plain another key point: Many of the consequences of a decision are not always immediately obvious. A famous example involves the minimum wage. By raising it, you make low-skilled workers better off, right? Some of them, perhaps. But you might also put some of them out of work if their skills do not warrant higher pay. As the French economist Frederic Bastiat put it, one needs to consider both the "seen and unseen" consequences.

And while economics can tell us much about the consequences of a given policy, it cannot tell us whether that policy is desirable. That is a question for philosophers. Similarly, economics does not proscribe a set of ethical values for individuals. One need not play the role of *homo economicus*—one can act beneficently toward others without turning the market on its head.

"Americans give over $200 billion to assorted charities every year. We hold doors open for strangers. We practice remarkable acts of altruism," Wheelan notes. "None of this is incompatible with the basic assumption that individuals seek to make themselves as well off as possible, however they happen to define that."

Wheelan is a strong supporter of the free market. But he sees an important role for government in establishing and enforcing the rules of the game, and for providing certain services that the market will not provide on its own. His view of what constitutes a "public good" is expansive, though, and goes well beyond such classic examples as national defense and police protection. He thinks parks and scientific research require public funding, but he doesn't explain why clever entrepreneurs could not provide those things as well or better than government. In addition, Wheelan spends much time discussing the supposed evils of sports utility vehicles. True, they may emit more pollutants than the typical car—and, as a result, impose larger-than-average "externalities." But his concern about SUVs borders on preoccupation and seems to violate the value neutrality he extols elsewhere in the book.

These are minor quibbles. Overall, *Naked Economics* is an excellent book. Those who have been turned off by

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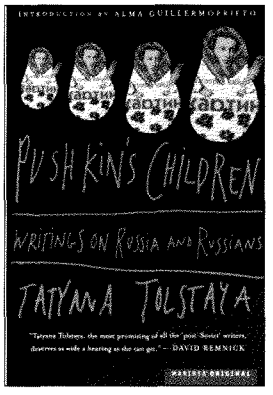
economics in the past should give it a try before throwing in the towel for good.

Aaron Steelman is an analyst at the Federal Reserve Bank of Richmond. The views expressed here are his own.

RUSSIAN SOUL FOOD

By Randy Boyagoda

Pushkin's Children: Writing on Russia and Russians
By Tatyana Tolstaya. translated by Jamey Gambrell
Mariner Books, 256 pages, $15



Shortly after the Bolshevik Revolution, Osip Mandelstam declared: "Russian history travels along the brink, along a ledge, over an abyss, and is on the verge of falling into nihilism at any moment." With *Pushkin's Children*, Tatyana Tolstaya renders the continued relevance of Mandelstam's judgment robustly clear. Even as Russia teeters through its most recent advance to the brink of chaos, this collection announces another Russian writer with impeccable literary ancestry and impressive cultural acumen, one highly qualified to denounce neatly simplistic views of her nation.

The 20 pieces that comprise *Pushkin's Children* cover a ten-year span, from 1990 to 2000. In most of them, Tolstaya's considerations of books on Russian history, politics, and culture act as springboards into her own ideas on these subjects. The power of the Russian matriarchy; the centuries-old practice of terror-driven, authoritarian rule; the end of communism and the post-Soviet era; twentieth-century poverty and economic chaos; the iron-fisted reigns of Stalin and Lenin; the eternal beauty of St. Petersburg; the centrality of food and vodka to the Russian soul and psyche: Tolstaya treats these recurrent themes in a gregarious style; her pages teem with Russian life felt and written about in a deeply charged way.

Tolstaya's method is to reveal the personal imprint on large-scale events, whether it be children blithely eating caviar like porridge during a currency crisis, or her niece complaining of Lenin's body in its mausoleum, "There's nothing to see. He's all yellow and dried up." Her reviews of books on or by Gorbachev, Yeltsin, and Putin allow her to stress the proximity of the private and political that she contends is as much a feature of Russian life as the distance between ambition and achievement. Considering Yeltsin's autobiography, *The Struggle for Russia*, Tolstaya provides the melancholy image of a befuddled man, angry that he cannot land the presidential helicopter to admire a pretty stream because, as an aide reminds him, the president must always be mindful of "the nuclear button" under his thumb.

Stronger feelings arise in essays on fellow writers. Tolstaya nearly deifies Joseph Brodsky in a remembrance—contradicting her general opposition to the Russian tendency to revere the nation's writers as prophets. She reverts to form in two merciless essays on Alexander Solzhenitsyn. Tolstaya argues that the man responsible for awakening "the conscience of an entire generation" with his *Gulag Archipelago* has since become a loudmouthed, irrelevant curiosity for Russians and Westerners alike.

In other essays, Tolstaya rectifies historical and linguistic errors committed by Western writers analyzing post-Soviet Russia, and draws attention to the many instances of Russian politicians sanctimoniously riding anti-Soviet sentiment to greedy gain. She reflects on the Soviet era of restriction and stability: "The truth is that communism was both of these things, and some people saw only its dark side, while others, more simple, were content with the rosy side." Attempts to understand and improve Russia require complex vision, and Tolstaya damns in particular those too blinkered by left-wing politics to perceive this.

One of the most arresting pieces in the collection is her meditation on Vladimir Putin's rise to power. Here, we witness a rare sight: an intelligent, contemporary writer willing to avow considered support for the political leadership of her nation. Tolstaya provides a canny rationale for why Putin's KGB background makes him an effective Russian president, and then chastises "left liberals" who "are throwing rotten tomatoes from behind the fence they have constructed around their idea of democracy." Myopic idealism, Tolstaya argues, blinds too many members of the contemporary Russian intelligentsia to the real potential in Putin's rule. This essay was written in 2000; one wonders how the author would update it in the light of Putin's actions in Chechnya, Iraq, and elsewhere. In other essays, Tolstaya makes abrupt reversals in her estimations of both Gorbachev and Yeltsin as events dictate, indicating a degree of magpie contrariness to which Putin may be subjected in her future writings.

Though tenacious, cynical, and at times contradictory, Tolstaya displays a generous love of all things Russian. *Pushkin's Children* allows us to listen in on her version of what she calls "the most cherished Russian tradition of all: the endless 'kitchen conversations' about world politics, the Tatar yoke, the fate of Russia, and the enigmas of the Russian soul." Like the land and people she reveals to us, the writer rambles and confounds at times, yet remains nothing short of enthralling.

Randy Boyagoda is a Ph.D. candidate in English at Boston University. He writes frequently on literature and culture.

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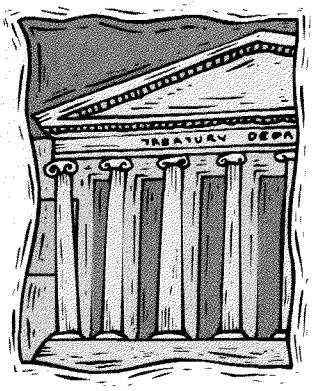

Bipartisanship = Big Government

By Grover Norquist

Since George W. Bush came to Washington the bipartisan love-fests have included the "No Child Left Behind" expansion of the federal Department of Education that jumped the department's annual budget from $14 billion to $23 billion; the pending $400-plus billion addition to the Medicare entitlement program; a large spending increase on foreign aid; and large expansions of federal employment and police powers for the war on terror.

There were uncomfortable moments of "partisan bickering" that led to the tax cuts of 2001, 2002, and 2003.

At the state level, partisan divisions between Democratic governors and Republican state legislators have stopped tax hikes in Arizona, Kansas, Missouri, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Virginia. A united Republican caucus in California denied Democratic governor Gray Davis and his large legislative majority the two-thirds majority they needed to raise taxes. And "partisan" Republican governors in Colorado, Texas, Florida, New Hampshire, and Minnesota have closed over-spending gaps without tax hikes.

Yet in a fit of non-partisanship, the unicameral Nebraska state legislature overrode Republican governor Mike Johanns' veto of a $34 million tax hike. And in New York, Republican Senate leader Joseph Bruno and Democratic Assembly head Sheldon Silver joined "bipartisan" hands to ram through a $2.1 billion tax hike. Partisan divisions at the state level have stopped threatened tax hikes in 21 states in 2002 and 24 to date in 2003.

The good news for taxpayers is that we are moving into an increasingly partisan political era. For more than 100 years the Republican and Democratic Parties were largely regional power blocs, with Republicans coming from the North and Democrats from the South. Since the 1960s, though, the parties have become more vessels for political philosophy than regional identity. From Goldwater to Reagan to George W. Bush, the Republican Party has become the smaller-government, anti-tax party. Today, 217 House members, 42 Senators, and one President have signed the Taxpayer Protection Pledge against tax hikes, and all but three are Republicans. At the federal level, the Republican Party has even progressed from the party that will not raise your taxes to the party that enacts a tax cut each and every year.

At the state level, more than one third of Republican legislators have signed the no-tax-hike pledge. GOP governors can be divided into two camps: Those opposed to tax increases (like Jeb Bush of Florida, Bill Owens of Colorado, Rick Perry of Texas, and Tim Pawlenty of Minnesota, who have become possible contenders for national office). And those open to tax hikes (like Alabama's Bob Riley, Ohio's Bob Taft, and Nevada's Kenny Guinn, whose governorship becomes the end of their elected careers).

When the two parties fight, taxpayers find representation in the Republican Party. When the two parties agree, the result is almost always a political class united against everyday citizens' interests—there is bipartisan opposition to term limits, to the citizen initiative process, to referendum and recall.

When the Republican Governors' Association meets, the members discuss tax cuts and spending limits. When the non-partisan National Governors' Association meets (at taxpayer expense), participants discuss their one area of common interest—how to get more tax dollars from Washington at the expense of all Americans. *Washington Post* columnist David Broder recently praised the bipartisan comity that resulted in all 50 governors signing a letter asking for, yes, more federal spending on their behalf.

When all 50 governors get together and agree on something it is always bad for taxpayers. An old joke holds that Republicans are the stupid party and Democrats the evil party, and that every once in a while they get together and pass bipartisan legislation that is both stupid and evil.

In reality the two parties have divergent interests. The Democrats benefit from higher taxes and spending at all levels of government. The Republicans grow stronger when individuals and families remain in control of their decisions, their incomes, and their property. All tax hikes fund the Democratic Party and its coalition; all tax cuts and spending reductions weaken the power of the party of statism. When a modern Republican and Democrat stand next to each other smiling in praise of some new bipartisan program, the smile on one of them is a mask for defeat.

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The Digest

Edited by Eli Lehrer

Summaries of important new research from the nation's universities, think tanks, and investigative publications

BUSINESS AND ECONOMICS

Spam War

Evan Schwartz, "Spam Wars," in *Technology Review,* Massachusetts Institute of Technology, August 2003 (technologyreview.com)

From advertisements for herbal "Viagra" to unsolicited letters asking recipients to claim large sums of money, unsolicited commercial e-mail, also known as spam, has become a major problem for nearly everyone with Internet access. As of the late summer of 2003, spam constituted a majority of all e-mail being sent, says technology writer Evan Schwartz.

While thousands of operators and shady businesses use spam as a marketing tool, just around 200 people worldwide send about 90 percent of all spam, experts agree. Already, most major Internet service providers weed out around 70 percent of spam using filters and decoy e-mail addresses to find spammers. But spammers have figured out ways around this approach.

Several new tools, however, promise to improve things further. Among them:

Heuristic algorithms: Human-created statistical rules that weed out unsolicited messages.

Collaborative filters: Software that allows a community of users to vote on what's spam and what isn't: When a type of message reaches a certain vote total, all similar messages are blocked.

Bayesian filters: Computer programs that learn over time, basing their knowledge on statistical models that determine the likelihood of future events.

Internet service providers have pursued legal action against spammers (meeting with mixed success), and proposals to make e-mail easier to trace have also gained ground. In addition, proposals to tax e-mails (even one tenth of one cent per e-mail would cripple most spamers), and requiring computers to solve math problems before they send e-mails (thus overwhelming computers that are used to send out billions of e-mails) also have some supporters. But Schwartz concludes that the "war on spam won't be won until" the most prolific spammers "are somehow forced to change their minds" about the viability of dumping messages upon unwilling recipients.

NATIONAL SECURITY

State Department Follies

Newt Gingrich, "Rogue State Department," in *Foreign Policy*, July/August 2003 (foreignpolicy.org)

Does the State Department really have Americans' best interests at heart? AEI senior fellow Newt Gingrich doesn't think so. According to Gingrich, the department has been hugely resistant to reform and, despite efforts to the contrary, makes policy mostly at the behest of career foreign service officers rather than following the directives of the President and Congress. In order to fix this, Gingrich argues that the State Department "needs to experience a culture shock, a top-to-bottom transformation that will make it a more effective communicator of U.S. values around the world."

To this end, Gingrich proposes efforts to expand the Foreign Service officer ranks by about 40 percent, improve their training, and most importantly, improve the State Department's international communication. Gingrich proposes that the State Department do more to publicize the calamitous effects of terrorism and terrorist states, that the President receive a weekly report about America's success or failure in communicating its policy, and that State develop clear objectives and indicators showing progress toward achieving those objectives. Not changing the State Department, Gingrich concludes, will place the United States in "a dangerous and unacceptable position for the world's leading democracy."

Hold the Obituaries

Bruce Hoffman, "Al-Qaeda, Trends in Terrorism, and Future Potentialities: An Assessment," RAND, June 2003 (rand.org)

Hoffman, the director of RAND's Washington office, believes al-Qaeda is alive and well—and that it might escalate its activities now that Iraq has provided a "target-rich environment" for strikes. "Al-Qaeda's inability to make good on any of their pre-invasion threats is a monumental setback," Hoffman concedes. But, from Tunisia to the Philippines, the group has continued its bloody business in the past year. Hoffman believes the

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destruction of its Afghan bases was largely inconsequential for al-Qaeda. The bases were important in the context of the Afghan civil war, but provide no use for the group's worldwide activities. Certainly the Afghan bases were irrelevant in carrying out the 9/11 attacks, he notes.

Meanwhile, while almost half of its top officers have been wiped out, the group's "vital core leadership" remains at large—including bin Laden and Ayman Zawahiri, often cited as the "brains" behind his boss. Its recruitment of rank-and-file has been as perky as ever, especially among Muslim communities in Europe. And with al-Qaeda's decentralized nature, agile propaganda machine, and ideological inclusiveness, the group is more than the sum of its resources. He wonders, indeed, if the group is "an army or an ideology" but concludes that it's too soon to know.

The occupation of Iraq does present opportunities for guerilla warfare, the kind of fighting Osama bin Laden has always extolled. In fact, one of the aims of the 9/11 attacks was to draw the U.S. into a costly ground war in Afghanistan, Hoffman writes.

But another spectacular attack is not immediately likely. Al Qaeda may be functional, but it is weakened, and Hoffman thinks it will continue with low-level violence "mostly against accessible, soft targets"—like last year's bombing of a nightclub on a Saturday night in Bali. America's adversaries measure this conflict in terms of years and even decades, not months, Hoffman writes. For them, the battle's just begun. —*Alex Fak*

Lessons From Iraq

Richard Perle, "Lessons of Operation Iraqi Freedom," AEI On The Issues, August 11, 2003 (aei.org)

In remarks delivered at AEI, resident fellow Richard Perle, former chairman of the Pentagon's Defense Policy Board, argues that America's quick and easy victory in Iraq offers important lessons for future conflicts.

First, Perle believes that success in the war relied on an "extraordinary sense of purpose, determination, and courage" on the part of the President, Vice President, and Secretary of Defense: The three garnered "huge rewards" for the risky decision to use ground forces at the outset. This surprised the Iraqi dictator and allowed the "coalition of the willing" to achieve a speedy victory.

America's advanced technology also helped. Precision weapons minimized civilian casualties, new war-fighting techniques allowed coalition forces to face down a numerically superior enemy, and America's awesome might gave Saddam's already shaky subjects less of a reason to fight.

Politically, Perle notes that the war didn't spark the pan-Arab uprisings some had predicted. "The terrorists and their friends and supporters and sponsors are on the defensive," Perle states. America's allies, however, showed woefully inadequate military strength, a situation Perle thinks unlikely to change soon.

Perle believes that Iraq is on the cusp of an extremely significant political transformation. If things work out in post-war Iraq, democracy and freedom, "by inspiring others who are now the victims of oppression," will spread around the Arab world.

—*Anne Beaumont*

OTHER COUNTRIES

A Wasted Talent

Mark Falcoff, "Troubles at Midpassage for Peru's Toledo," *Latin American Outlook,* July 2003 (aei.org)

When President Alejandro Toledo took office in Peru two years ago, many had high hopes for the Stanford-trained economist who became the country's first chief executive of Peruvian-Indian ancestry. AEI scholar Mark Falcoff, however, believes these hopes have not been fulfilled: Although Peru has posted a good economic performance under his leadership, the president's approval rating has fallen to a dismal 14 percent. Although Toledo has made only modest market oriented reforms, opponents accuse him of following a strictly "neoliberal" (free market) course in trying to remake the country.

Independent of any political party, Toledo has been forced to come to grips with the mountainous nation's only important political party, ARPA. At the same time, leftist agitators, rabble-rousing populists, and communist guerillas menace him from all directions. Many politicians propose "soak the rich" tax policies and other leftist measures even though they have almost no chance of working. Plans to privatize money-losing state companies, particularly the electric monopoly, didn't go forward when criticism seemed too severe. Efforts to eliminate drug cultivation have also suffered and the *Sendero Luminoso* (Shining Path) guerrillas—a criminal gang that talks a communist line—have begun to make a modest comeback. Having wasted the first two years of his term, however, Falcoff says that Toledo can do little but "hope for a bit of luck on commodity prices and interest rates, combined with a bit of foreign investment."

SCIENCE AND ENVIRONMENT

The Boring Twentieth Century

Willie Soon and Sallie Baliunas, *Lessons and Limits of Climate History: Was the 20th Century Climate Unusual?*, The George C. Marshall Institute, April 2003 (marshall.org)

Willie Soon and Sallie Baliunas, two scientists affiliated with the Harvard-Smithsonian Center for Astrophysics, examine the repeated claim that the earth's climate during the twentieth century was unusual compared with other centuries in the last millennium. They

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point out that the temperature of the past 1,000 years is not known well enough to allow a precise comparison with previous centuries. A worldwide set of temperature measurements has only been available since 1861, and there are large gaps in coverage.

For earlier years, paleoclimatologists use proxy measurements from tree rings, corals, and ice cores. From these they can estimate temperatures in the local areas. But Soon and Baliunas suggest these data are far too incomplete in geographic coverage and in the temperature information they convey to allow a realistic estimate of global surface temperature.

The authors point out that the research featured heavily in the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change that suggests a sharp increase in global temperatures in the last century "depends heavily on a single set of tree growth data from the Western U.S., and the assumption that the differences in temperature between the Western U.S. and the rest of the Northern Hemisphere for the last millennium were the same as they were in the twentieth century." Soon and Baliunas contend that this is an unrealistic assumption, because it is well known that local climate trends are not uniform over areas as large as a hemisphere.

They also survey the scientific literature to compare the experiences of the twentieth-century climate with the climate as it existed in individual locations over the preceeding 900 years. They found that it is possible to identify 50-year periods in which the locations were warmer than in the twentieth century in most of the locations for which they had reliable proxies, providing strong evidence that the twentieth century was not unusual but fell within the normal range of the last thousand years.

The researchers also found strong evidence to support the existence of a period of warmer temperatures worldwide—the medieval warm period, from 800 to 1,300 A.D., when Greenland was colonized and grapevines were grown in England—and also a cooler period known as the little ice age, from 1,400 to 1,900 A.D. *—Iain Murray*

Taken For a Ride?

Christopher Essex and Ross McKitrick, *Taken by Storm*, Key Porter Books, 2002 (keyporter.com)

Most books skeptical of global warming aim to dispute certain findings of, say, the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change. Christopher Essex, a mathematician, and Ross McKitrick, an economist, instead, ask the really fundamental questions about global warming: Are the concepts worthwhile or knowable in the first place?

Take the global average temperature, fundamental to the question of whether the planet is warming. They point out that the concept is basically meaningless. Temperatures are like telephone numbers: If you add them up, then divide to find an average, it does not tell you anything. Moreover, the properties of climate, "most of which are physical aspects," have "little to do with temperature, and certainly less to do with some official global temperature statistic."

Perhaps the most useful idea in this book is that the public is being fed a false Doctrine of Certainty—the claim that we understand the climate, what is wrong with it, and how to fix it, and that one ought not say otherwise publicly.

SOCIETY

Pay Less to Die

David Harrington, "Breathing Life into the Funeral Market," *Regulation*, The Cato Institute, Spring 2003 (cato.org/pubs/regulation)

Do Americans spend too much money to bury loved ones? Kenyon College professor David Harrington thinks so: He believes that state laws requiring licensing and other regulations in the funeral market drive up the cost of burials to no good effect. In particular, he believes that cremation rates may shed some light on the effects of regulation.

A study Harrington conducted shows that people are more likely to choose less costly cremation over burial in states where there is less regulation of the funeral market. In 1990, consumers were 15 percent more likely to opt for cremation in relatively unregulated states than in more heavily regulated ones. This suggests that in highly regulated markets, where funeral directors enjoy less competition, "directors may induce demand by steering consumers away from cremations," which are less expensive than traditional burials.

The study also found that cremation rates decline in regions where there are fewer deaths, "suggesting that funeral directors react to income losses from contracting markets by persuading more consumers to choose traditional funerals over less-profitable cremations."

Cremations are not the sole object of funeral directors' scorn, however. On-line casket retailers also pose a potential threat to their profits. Where many funeral directors have actively tried to prevent customers from choosing on-line caskets (warning they are "made by prisoners"), a site called *FuneralDepot.com* has the potential to deliver true competition to the funeral market.

Funeral homes promise to accept on-line caskets in exchange for referrals from the site. The site makes shopping around more simple for the mourning consumer, as price and service information become easily accessible.

Harrington argues that lack of competition in the funeral market stems from government regulation that sets strict standards for facilities, training, and licensing. Yet despite these regulations, the market is beginning to force funeral homes to compete for customers.

—Courtney Richard

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IF IT'S IMPORTANT, IT'S ON . . .

Think TANK

With BEN WATTENBERG

"I cannot adequately express the full measure
of my gratitude and appreciation
for the existence of your program.
The topics and their treatment
are almost literally food for the mind,
hungry for knowledge of things
that impact our lives,
often without our knowing it.
Please keep up the good work.
Congratulations to the
THINK TANK staff and crew."

Luis Alvelais, Fremont, California

Our only response is "thank you"!

PBS

THINK TANK: THE PBS PROGRAM ON IDEAS

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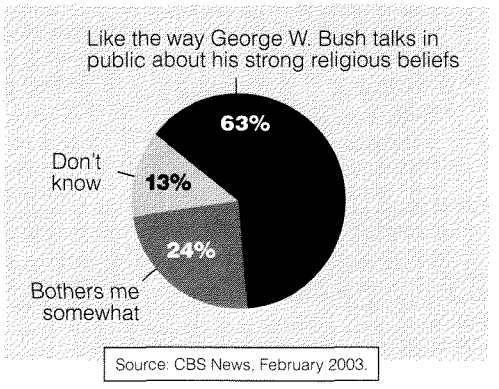
Opinion Pulse

Edited by Karlyn Bowman

President Bush's Faith

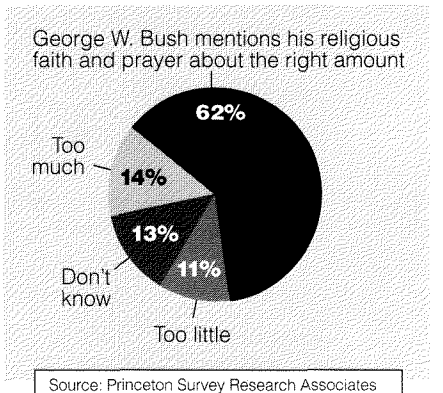
Around six in ten Americans like the way President Bush talks about his strong religious beliefs in public. About the same number say that he relies on his religious beliefs about the right amount when making decisions. Only 10 percent say that he relies on them too much. More people think big business has too much influence on the Bush administration than feel that way about the Religious Right.

Question: Some people.... What about you...?



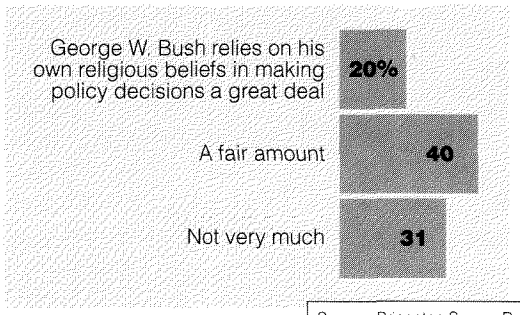
Source: CBS News, February 2003.

Question: Do you think...?

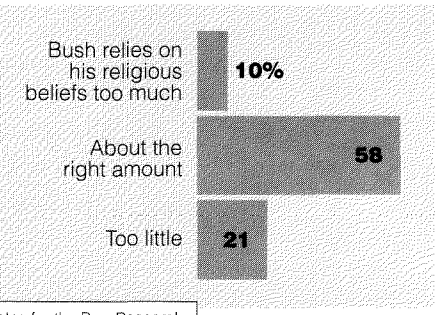


Source: Princeton Survey Research Associates for the Pew Research Center and the Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life, June–July 2003.

Question: How much do you think...?

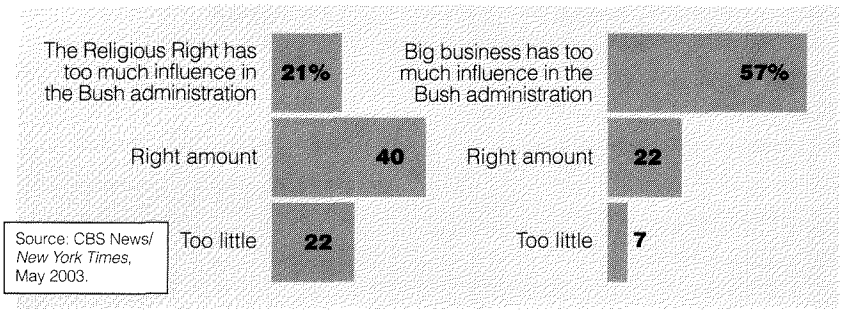


Question: In making policy decisions...?



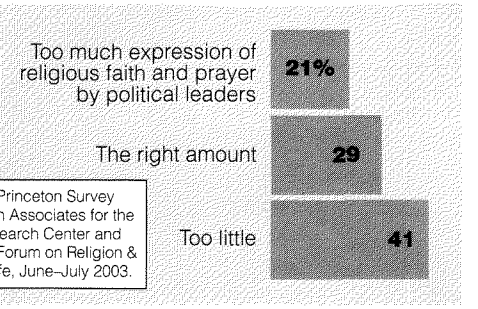
Source: Princeton Survey Research Associates for the Pew Research Center and the Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life, June–July 2003.

Question: Do you think...?



Source: CBS News/ *New York Times*, May 2003.

Question: Do you think there has been...?



Source: Princeton Survey Research Associates for the Pew Research Center and the Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life, June–July 2003.

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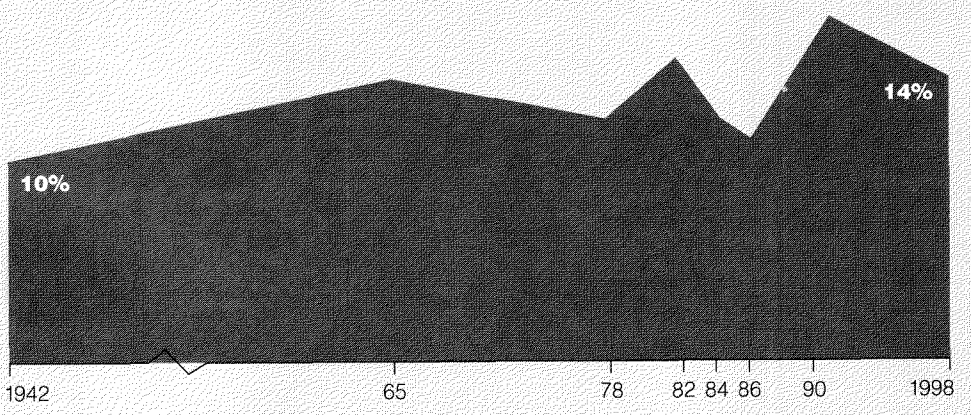
Bible Reading

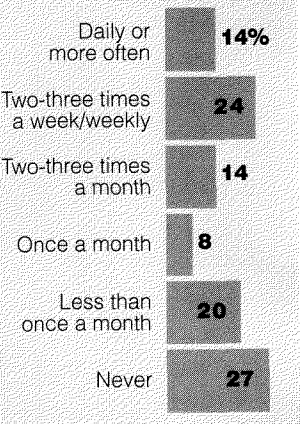
President Bush says that he reads the Bible daily. So, too, do about 15 percent of his fellow citizens. At the other end of the spectrum, about a quarter say they never read it. About 90 percent have a Bible at home, a figure unchanged from 1954, when Gallup first posed the question. About a quarter say they have read the Bible all the way through. Thirty percent today say the Bible is the actual word of God, to be taken literally word for word, while 52 percent believe it is the inspired word of God. Fifteen percent call it an ancient book of fables, legends, and history.

Question: How often do you...?

Read Bible daily or more often



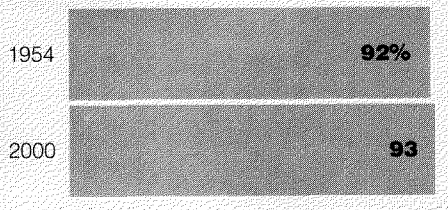
Read the Bible—1998



Note: Question wording varied.

Question: Do you happen to have any of these books in your home...?

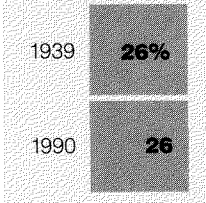
Have a Bible in your home



Note: Question wording varied slightly.

Question: Have you...?

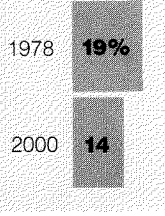
Read the Bible all the way through



Note: Wording in 1990 question was: "Just your best guess, about how much of the Old Testament of the Bible would you say you have ever read?"

Question: Do you happen to be...?

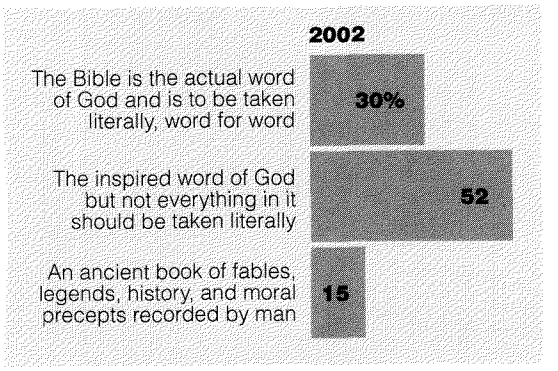
In a Bible study group



Note: Wording for 1978 question was: "Are you involved in or do you practice Bible study groups?"

Question: Which of the following statements comes closest to describing your views about the Bible...?

2002



Source: The Gallup Organization, latest that of 2002.The American Bible Society sponsored some of these surveys.

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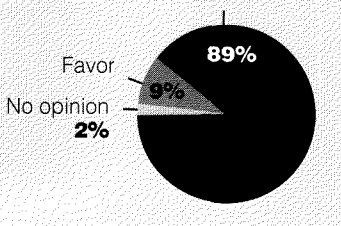
The Ethic of Individual Responsibility

In 2000, George W. Bush said that he wanted to "usher in a responsibility era." The American people appear ready to embrace it. Americans don't blame the fast food, tobacco, cigarette, or the entertainment industries for the choices individuals make. If the country embraces proposals to allow people to invest some of their Social Security taxes in the stock market, more than 80 percent say it should not be up to the government to make up for individuals' losses. Americans think individuals need to take more responsibility for solving the country's problems.

Question: Would you...?

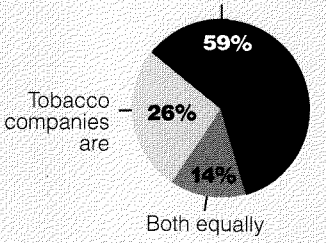
Oppose holding the fast food industry legally responsible for the diet-related health problems of people who eat fast food on a regular basis



Source: The Gallup Organization, July 2003.

Question: Which of the following statements best describes your view...?

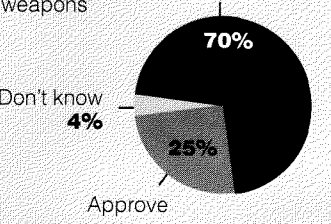
Smokers are to blame for health problems faced by smokers in this country



Source: Gallup, CNN, *USA Today*, July 2000.

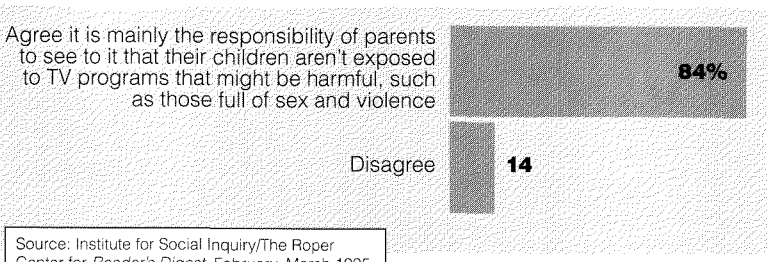
Question: Earlier this year, a jury for the first time.... Do you...?

Disapprove of jury decision that gun manufacturers should be held financially responsible for shooting deaths and other illegal uses of their weapons



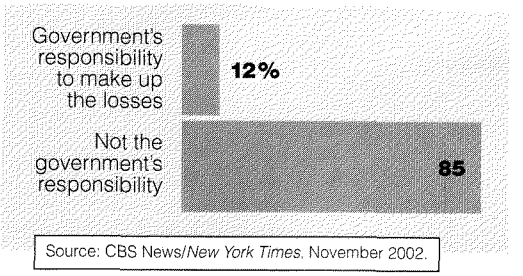
Source: *Washington Post*, July 1999.

Question: Please tell me whether you agree or disagree...?



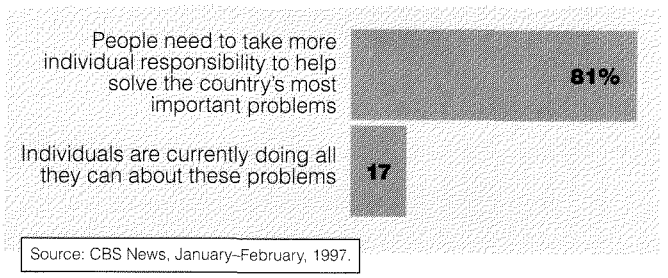
Source: Institute for Social Inquiry/The Roper Center for *Reader's Digest*, February–March 1995.

Question: If people who choose to invest their Social Security taxes in the stock market lose their money, should it be...?



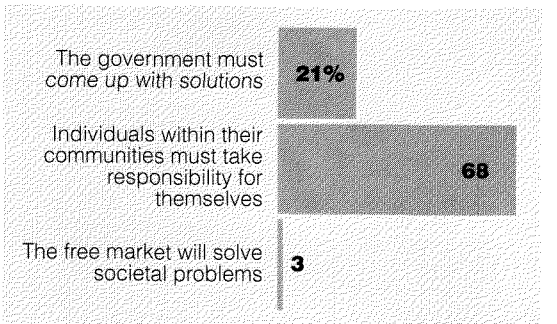
Source: CBS News/*New York Times*, November 2002.

Question: Do you think...?



Source: CBS News, January–February, 1997.

Question: Which is closest to your view of the best way to solve America's problems...?



Source: Penn, Schoen & Berland for the Democratic Leadership Council, February 1999.

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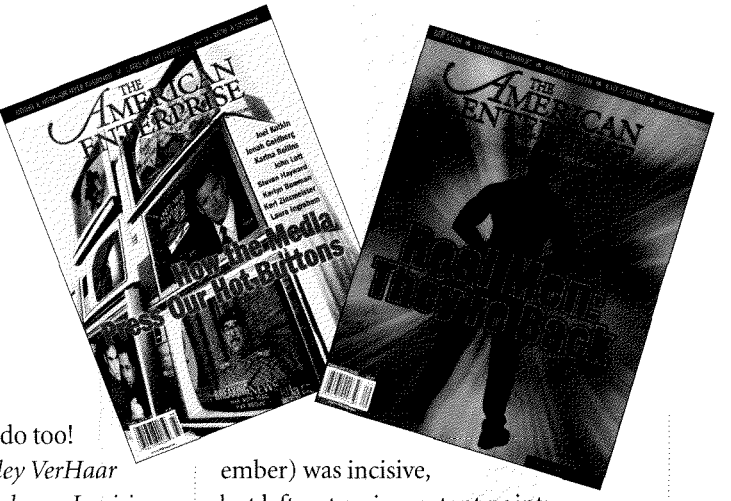
the Mail



I read your "Real Men" issue (September) from front to back. When I finished, I looked at the front cover and softly said aloud, "Thank God Almighty."

I am a most fortunate woman: age 57, American, and married for 35 years to a bona fide real man. He is a husband, son, grandfather, brother, and in-law extraordinaire; a protector, a provider, an intellect, an artist, an engineer, a mechanic, a gardener, a plumber, a professor, and a leader of men and women.

Americans have finally come around to acknowledging that we owe men like him just about every single thing that we treasure. Not for one minute would I trade places with any man that I know, but I am profoundly grateful for the men such as my husband who protect this nation and all that I hold dear. Thank you for honoring REAL men.

Mary Anne Bailey
Melbourne, Florida

Hooray! As the mother of two young men, one a Marine, the other a husband, father, and hard-working provider, I am glad to know there is published material that supports their manhood. I am very liberal, but I realized that my boys were full of testosterone and used sports, bonfires, hunting, and occasional fights as outlets. What is wrong with men being men?

I married a man who played hockey, not with dolls. If I wanted a companion with female qualities, I would have married a woman and we could have adopted girls. And maybe we could have bred males out of the human race.

No thanks! I like males just the way they are, and I hope they do too!

Shirley VerHaar
New Orleans, Louisiana

Thank you for your "Real Men" issue. I especially enjoyed Ben Stein's "The Car and the Man." Though I do not have a Corvette like he did, I do have a beautiful medium-green 1966 T-Bird—which I still drive at age 89. (I'm a very careful driver!)

Loretta Micuda
Paradise Valley, Arizona

Hunting may be a "man" thing, but sneaking up on an animal with an assault weapon to blow it away for kicks seems more psychotic than "manly" to me ("Me Man, Me Hunt," Blake Hurst).

I wish that your "Real Men" issue had focused more on how men channel their energy into creative activity. Just think of St. Peter's Basilica or the "Ode to Joy"—great works achieved by men, and more manly than hunting any day.

Herman King
Gloucester, Virginia

I enjoyed Christina Hoff Sommers' "Men—It's in Their Nature" (BIRD'S EYE). But then she cited George W. Bush and his political friends as examples of masculinity that will rekindle in Americans an appreciation for masculine virtues. Is this where she wants her son to find inspiration? Allow me to be disappointed.

R. Horemans
Mol, Belgium

Josh Larsen's review of *Buffalo Soldiers* ("Buffalo Scam," NOW PLAYING, September) was incisive, but left out an important point: The real Buffalo Soldiers were black troopers of the 9th and 10th U.S. Cavalry formed after the Civil War. They played a critical role in patrolling the Southwest against raids by Indians.

The title of the movie is thus a wholly gratuitous insult to the memory of these brave Americans. What, after all, do troops in 1989 Germany have to do with buffalo? Apparently the politically correct mindset ranks being anti-military as more important than recognizing the contributions of black Americans.

David Stolinsky
Los Angeles, California

Iain Murray's "Liable to Suffer" (THE ECONOMIST, September) is of particular interest to me: Sixty years ago, my wife entered a hospital in Texas for what was to be a simple bladder operation. She was incontinent for the rest of her life. A doctor told us, "A very serious mistake has been made. Try not to be bitter about it." At that time, malpractice litigation was practically unknown.

Today, we have a different set of problems. It should be illegal for lawyers to solicit clients through advertising; fines for careless doctors, just like other fines, should be paid to the state, not the plaintiff; contingency fees and awards for pain and suffering should be eliminated. Articles such as Mr. Murray's will help call attention to the present abuse of justice.

John Clark
Marion, Ohio

The American Enterprise welcomes your comments. Send e-mail to TAE@aei.org. Or write "The Mail," The American Enterprise, 1150 17th Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Or fax (202) 862-5867. Please include your address and phone number. Published letters may be edited for length and clarity.

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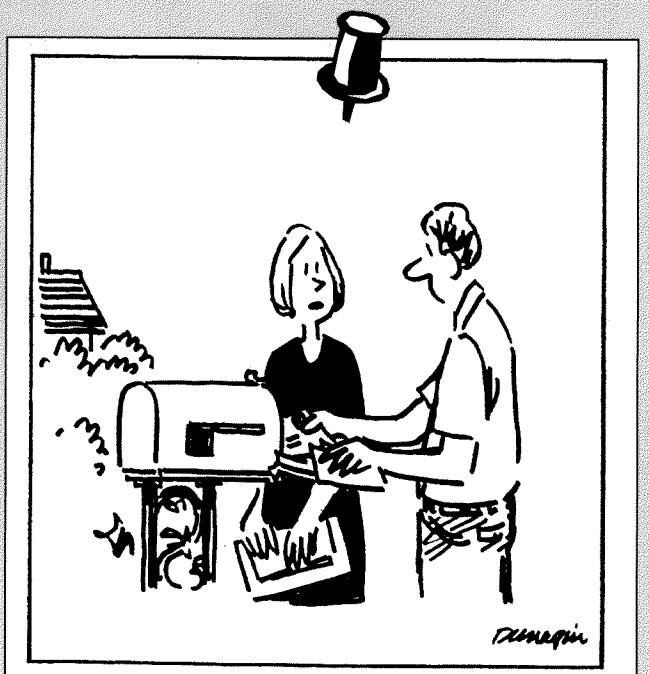
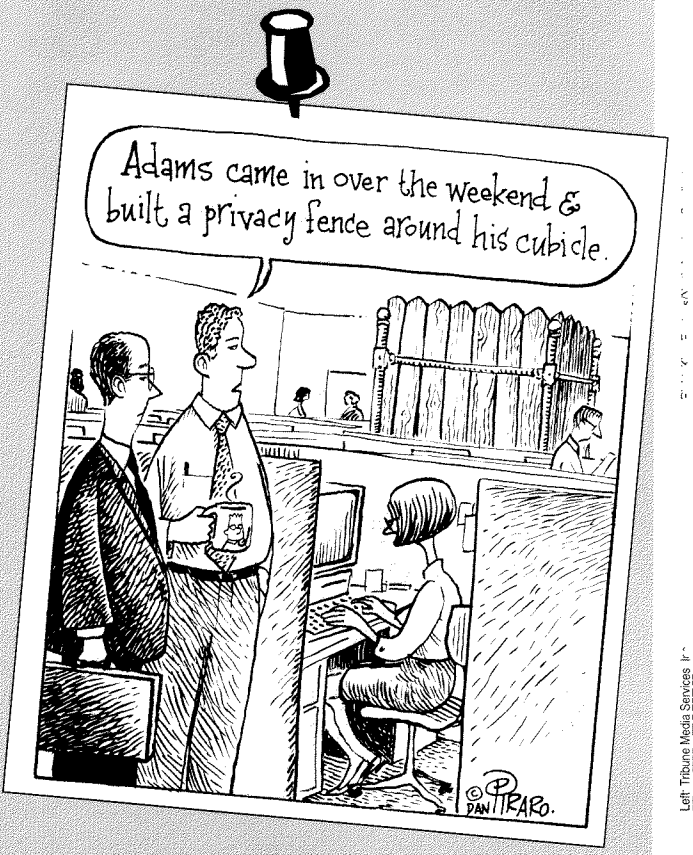


"The post office is considering delivering Saturday's mail on Tuesday instead of Monday."



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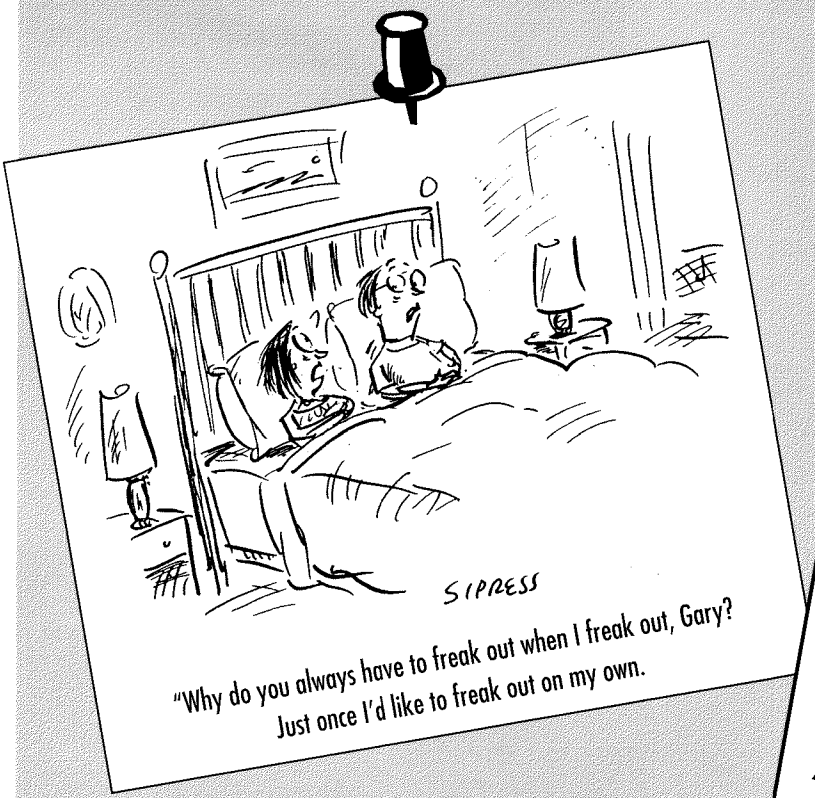
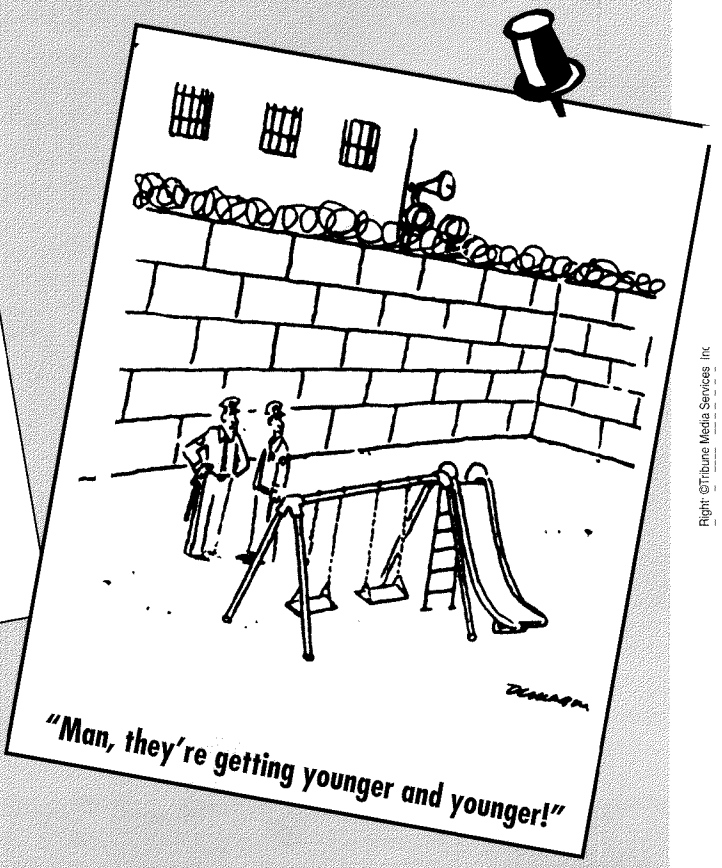


"Why do you always have to freak out when I freak out, Gary? Just once I'd like to freak out on my own.



"Man, they're getting younger and younger!"

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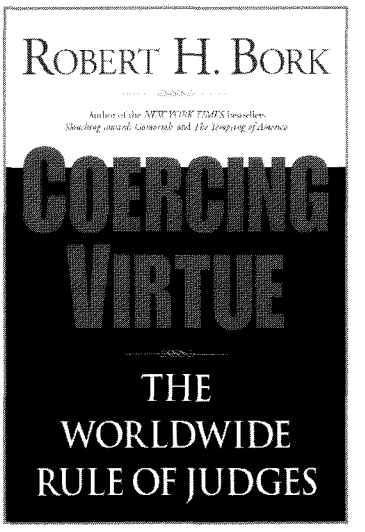

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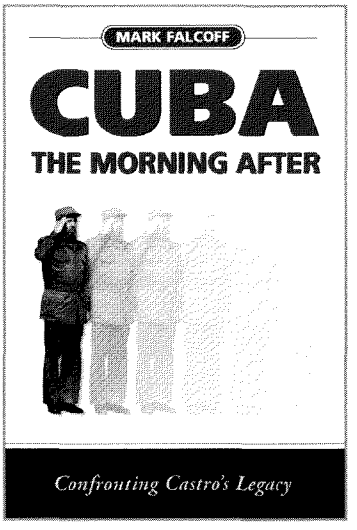

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